

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Fall, 1964

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Politics and the press: opinion and analysis

One week with Senator Goldwater

Viet Nam reporting: three years of crisis

*... to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms,
to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to
help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible
service ...*

*... to help stimulate continuing improvement in the pro-
fession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.*

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Fall, 1964

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Journalism and the Warren report

The Warren Commission report can be doubly useful to American news media: First, its astonishingly detailed investigations provide a unique check on the accuracy of journalism's reporting of the assassination. Second, its analysis of the Oswald case raises again the problem of "herd" reporting.

Overall, the commission's findings confirm the account of the assassination offered by American journalism. That the report contained no major "surprises" is a confirmation of that fact.

This is not to deny that there were errors and gaps, as well as heedless transmission of rumors. Such slips helped to encourage the conspiratorial school of assassination literature, widely accepted in Europe and widely publicized in this country. The commission's report, although it offers a strong challenge to conspiracy theories, may never really catch up.

Still, the report could have a fairer chance if its credibility had not been endangered by leaks — and by the careless, haphazard publication of raw transcript material obtained by such leaks.

The nadir of such opportunism was the series from commission testimony published under the byline of Dorothy Kilgallen and the copyright of the *New York Journal-American*. The headline shown here, from the paper of September 3, 1964, lent weight to

A Pre-Assassination Mystery Meeting?

a story circulated by Mark Lane, a New York lawyer who failed to give the commission supporting evidence. Miss Kilgallen mentioned Mr. Lane as the source rather obscurely, in the eighth paragraph. On the day after the report was released, and the commission had said it had found no evidence to confirm Mr. Lane's story, the *Journal-American* listed the Lane material in a piece headlined "Kilgallen's Exclusives Confirmed." For the *Journal-American* and other papers that followed suit, this was a notable example of failing to rise to historic occasion.

In discussing the Oswald case, the Warren commission laid a share of blame on journalism and sug-

gested the "promulgation of a code of professional conduct governing representatives of all news media."

Dallas police headquarters provided, of course, a sickening example of unregulated herd reporting, largely because of the ineptitude, publicity-hunger, or fear of the Dallas police. They could have prevented the murder of Oswald by establishing the most elementary physical order and by systematically screening those admitted.

Indeed, in most cases, ranging from the tragedy of Dallas to the serio-comic setting of Krushchev's visit to an Iowa farm, the imposition of physical arrangements to allow observation without disruption would be adequate. In some cases, a "pool" of a few reporters designated to represent the many is advisable. Just such a pool observed the oath-taking ceremony on the presidential plane in Dallas.

Certainly, there is a need for reporters to take care that they do not themselves become the news, just as there is need for television to find ways to reduce the bulk of the paraphernalia that now encumber most news stories it chooses to cover. But, the *Review's* editors believe, there is no need for an elaborate code.

It would be more useful for officers of appropriate newspaper, magazine, and broadcasters' associations to limit any agreement to an outline of conditions and patterns of pooling and conduct in legal proceedings. Beyond this, the code should remain as it has been for decades, largely unwritten and enforced by public and professional opinion.

Scare statistics

A grim and totally misleading feature of every holiday week-end is the National Safety Council's widely publicized prediction that hundreds of persons will be killed on the highways. Newsmen, always eager to fill holiday stories, have played the council's numbers game time out of mind.

This year's Labor Day forecast, for example, was that 490 to 590 persons would be killed on the roads. The figures are horrifying, but in *any* three-day period close to 400 persons lose their lives in traffic accidents in this country. Considering the millions of additional miles logged during holidays, it is hardly news that the predictions are exceeded.

In 1917, the death rate for each hundred thousand motor vehicles was 172. While vehicles, mileages, and speeds increased apace, this key figure has steadily declined. In the years since, it has been cut to less than 50. Taking into account the increase in mileage per vehicle, the American driver has improved his safety record roughly tenfold in less than five decades. This hardly jibes with the council's scare talk.

News organs can help reduce the traffic fatality rate significantly by investigative reporting of real accident causes plus a little editorial gumption.

Isn't it time to quit misleading drivers with one grisly statistic, and time to help them?

Detroit's turn

Detroit had the disagreeable privilege, this fall, of having two major strikes running at once. One involved 260,000 General Motors workers. The other, which began July 13, involved only 450 pressmen and paper handlers, but it closed two of the country's major newspapers, the *Free Press* and the *News*, which have a total daily circulation of a million and a quarter.

Why this ordeal for the newspapers and newspapermen? To New Yorkers, who went without papers for 114 days in 1962-1963, much of it sounded familiar: two small unions trying to get better contracts than their fellows, a union leader who underestimated the resistance of management, successive unavailing interventions by government agencies and officials—and all of this growing out of a history of ill will and minor clashes for years before. By now, it is a too-familiar story. As this issue went to press, the outcome of the struggle was not in sight.

During the strike, Detroiters were both better and worse served than New Yorkers had been. Detroit's interim press was fairly substantial and well staffed (though underpaid). Detroit's broadcasters, on the other hand, did not devote major effort to "filling the gap."

Post-strike studies may show whether Detroit's citizens were adequately informed despite the absence of newspapers. On the face of it, though, it is hard to see how newspapers can continue to claim a role in public affairs and remain closed during a period that included the national political conventions, a succession of crises in Southeast Asia, the beginning of a national political campaign, and local auto-industry negotiations that happened to be the country's biggest economic story. This is still another demonstration that the traditional heavy weapons of labor and management are ludicrously inappropriate to the daily newspaper field.

Darts and laurels

¶ Perhaps the choice example of campaign-time stupidity was the Allen-Bradley Company's announced cancellation of its *Saturday Evening Post* advertising because it disapproved of the magazine's editorial on the election. The action raises the question of whether the company's advertising is a legitimate business expense or a political weapon.

¶ One of the season's prizes for "journalistic" irresponsibility goes to *Fact* magazine for its repeatedly published full-page advertisement headed "Is Goldwater psychologically fit to be President of the United States?" The ad, appearing long before the magazine's story became available, heralded a poll of psychiatrists, based on the dubious assumption that they could diagnose an individual they had never seen. It was a new low even for the publisher who has produced both *Eros* and *Fact*, and no credit to the newspapers (e.g., *The New York Times*) that accepted the ad.

¶ During the summer, *Editor & Publisher*, the newspaper trade magazine, attacked broadcasters' right to transmit editorials. Broadcasting, said *E&P*, cannot provide for replies from the public in the same space to the same audience, as can newspapers. *E&P* might have a case—if all newspapers offered the right of reply as scrupulously as broadcasters offer equal time.

¶ *Television* magazine, a friend of the broadcasting industry, has completed a documented study of "clutter" and concludes that "the sponsor's turns are very nearly dominant." It cites research showing that mid-program commercials are no better—from the advertiser's point of view—than any others. If this subversive idea were to take hold, it could mean better days, not only for entertainers, but for news broadcasters.

¶ Gulf Oil has put a blemish on its splendid record of sponsoring "instant news specials" by bowing out, for the second time, on a program dealing with racial problems. It should be noted, however, that there were no other takers.

¶ *The Reporter*, on the CBS television network, is one more humbuggy misportrayal of the press at work. A short life to it.

Viet Nam reporting: three years of crisis

Malcolm W. Browne, Associated Press correspondent in Saigon since 1961 and now senior member of the press corps there, presents here reflections on covering a period in which Southeast Asia became America's most persistent overseas problem. This article was prepared for Frederick T. C. Yu of Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism as part of a study of crisis reporting. Other segments will be carried in future issues. Last spring Mr. Browne shared with David Halberstam of The New York Times the 1964 Pulitzer Prize for international reporting.

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

I remember once having seen a newspaper picture of an elephant being towed on water skis under the Brooklyn Bridge. As I recall it, an advertisement for toothpaste was painted on the side of the beast, and it clearly showed in the photograph. It struck me at the time that it is really fairly easy to manipulate even the best intentioned news media, provided you have enough imagination and gall. After all, an elephant on water skis is news of a sort, advertisement or not, and most readers are amused looking at such a picture.

This kind of press manipulation is probably innocent enough in itself. Unfortunately for foreign correspondents, similar but infinitely more sinister manipulations are frequently directed at newsmen abroad.

On the whole, most of the correspondents I have met in various parts of the world are extremely suspicious professionals who are willingly taken in by such things only rarely.

But reporting in times of crisis can be a trying and sometimes hazardous business, particularly when elements in the story are actively hostile to the free press.

One of the major pitfalls any reporter faces is the possibility of becoming an element in one of his own

stories—a cardinal breach of the rules of our game. Ideally, every reporter is a detached observer, setting down fact after fact with clear-sighted fairness to all.

A few newsmen allow themselves to become actively involved in their stories from the very start. Last year in Jakarta, a foreign news organization hired an Indonesian photographer to get pictures of an Indonesian mob attacking the British Embassy. The cameraman went to the riot as directed, but after a few moments he was so caught up in the patriotic fervor of smashing things that he dropped his camera and picked up a brick. The news organization fired him, of course.

In other instances, newsmen can actually become *hors de combat* covering crises. Last year, a French news agency correspondent covering a racial incident in the American South was shot to death.

On July 7, 1963, I had been taking pictures at a Buddhist street demonstration in Saigon when a brick smashed across my chest and shattered the top of my camera. Looking around, I saw my AP friend and colleague, Peter Arnett, on the ground. Blood was coursing down his face, five plain-clothes police agents were kicking him and grinding his camera to fragments.

The police squad broke off its attack as suddenly as it had begun, dashing off into the crowd of spec-

tators like thieves. Uniformed police broke up the remains of the demonstration rapidly, and Arnett and I dragged ourselves back to the office.

The incident itself was an ugly one, and had drawn us involuntarily into the story we were trying to cover as detached observers. But worse was to come. A few hours later, uniformed police came to our office with a summons. Charges were being prepared to the effect that Arnett and I had assaulted and injured several police agents.

Our subsequent interrogation lasted about eight hours, and we were permitted no transcript of the testimony. The Saigon prosecutor's office coldly informed the U.S. chargé d'affaires that eight depositions filed by newsmen who had seen the incident would not be accepted in evidence. All these depositions said, in effect, that neither Arnett nor I had lifted a finger against the plainclothesmen, whose attack appeared completely unwarranted.

Newsmen make news

At this stage, we ourselves had become a story. And it fell to Arnett and me to write our own story, including complete details of the police charges, even though we knew them to be nonsense.

Ultimately, President Kennedy intervened in our behalf and the Vietnamese government charges were dropped, but the whole thing was touchy and unpleasant.

The point was that the Ngo Dinh Diem government considered foreign correspondents enemies. This situation is true in major parts of Southeast Asia. Indonesia's powerful foreign minister, Subandrio, has publicly declared the Western press an enemy to his nation; Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk has expelled all Western newsmen; Burma's Premier refuses to grant press visas.

To be defined as an enemy is to become involved, if only to the extent of struggling for survival.

The common attitude of most Southeast Asian leaders is that the press is an element of psychological warfare and must, therefore, be rigidly controlled. Adverse reporting about a regime tends to give aid and comfort to the enemy and must therefore be eliminated.

The enemy is broadly defined as anyone or anything that tends to weaken the power of the regime. It may be a dangerous military enemy like the Viet Cong in Viet Nam, or it may be a single politician with only a handful of followers. Truly objective reporting and such official attitudes, I believe, are basically incompatible, and clashes are inevitable.

Even the reporter who has never taken sides in any of the local issues before is forced to side with

himself in defense of his profession against official news repression.

Inducements and threats both are used to move the newsmen in such circumstances. A newly arrived correspondent in Viet Nam used to find himself the guest at constant glittering dinner parties given by high state officials. Government guides were always at his service, and the red tape of existence was cut to the bare minimum.

Several months after I arrived here, the powerful and peppery-tongued Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu sent me a warm letter of thanks for an article I had written. The article had been a question-and-answer piece, quoting her extensively verbatim.

But correspondents who suggested in their articles that the war against the Viet Cong was not going as well as described in official communiques quickly felt the lash. At first we discovered that Vietnamese military sources who once had been highly cooperative now were under strict orders not to talk to us at all. In some cases, old news sources went on talking, and most of them were found out by the government. Many were relieved of commands or even jailed.

Normally, there was no official censorship, although copies of all dispatches in Viet Nam are reproduced and circulated among top officials. The only legal communication with the outer world is through the government owned and operated telecommunications center. It was, therefore, an easy matter for communications officials merely to hold up dispatches they regarded as offensive for 24 hours or more. As the Diem regime encountered increasing difficulties, news dispatches from Saigon were subject to longer and longer delays.

Police methods became increasingly harsh. Correspondents were tailed constantly, and the telephones of all newsmen were monitored 24 hours a day. Sometimes callers received sinister threats from the government. Visitors to news offices frequently were picked up and spirited off by plainclothesmen a few yards from the doors.

Madame Nhu's orders

Correspondents were regularly expelled from Viet Nam, on the direct orders of Madame Nhu.

During the 1963 Buddhist crisis, Madame Nhu's younger brother, Tran Van Khiem, let it be known that a list of foreign correspondents slated for assassination had been prepared by the government. No attempts ever were made on any of us, and the presumption was that this rumor had been put forth to rattle us.

Unfortunately, many local American officials shared the Saigon government's view that all press

reporting from this country should be positive. Frequently, sins of dishonesty by the Vietnamese were compounded by U.S. officials.

As a trivial case in point, the Viet Cong released two U.S. Army prisoners on May 1, 1962, after holding them in the jungle for several weeks. The idea that the Communists would voluntarily release prisoners ran counter to the Saigon propaganda line, and its information directors let it be known that a detachment of Vietnamese troops had overwhelmed a Viet Cong camp and liberated the Americans.

This statement, with details about the valor of the government unit's commander, was passed along to correspondents by the U.S. military information office. Some news stories spoke of the government troops "slashing their way into a Viet Cong camp," and made the whole thing sound like a cowboy movie, in which the good guys wipe out the bad guys.

A few of us smelled a rat. The Viet Cong had never before let themselves get surprised into a jam like that, and it seemed an odd coincidence that the Americans were freed on May 1—a big Communist holiday.

It turned out later that the Viet Cong had not only released the two men, but had sent a squad of escorts with them to make sure they got into no further trouble on the way back to the nearest government guard post.

For a long time, U.S. information policy tried to avoid publishing American battle casualties. On one occasion, U.S. military authorities reported to newsmen that an Army enlisted man had "slightly injured his arm" on "a training exercise with Vietnamese troops, when he accidentally tripped over a wire."

But about one week later I learned that the man involved was a sergeant friend of mine, and I looked him up at a hospital. It turned out that he'd been on patrol with Vietnamese troops, all right, and he had tripped over a wire. He had tripped because the wire was connected to an electrically detonated Viet Cong land mine, which had blown away half his elbow.

Time and again correspondents were told by American authorities that U.S. information channels were kept plugged to avoid diplomatic friction with the Vietnamese government.

"If they say one thing and we say another, where does that leave us?" a U.S. spokesman said. "We can't offend our allies."

These official attitudes and the evidence of our own senses led to a high degree of skepticism in the foreign press corps about all official statements.

But difficult as conditions were, they were destined to become much worse. On May 8, 1963, a

crisis erupted—the Buddhist upheaval. It is quite possible that the Ngo Dinh Diem regime would have survived a lot longer than it did against the Buddhist insurrection but for the role of the foreign press. Involuntarily, foreign correspondents became potent political tools—a role the dictates of our profession strictly proscribe.

Some of the key leaders of the Buddhist revolt were educated in Japan or in the West (for example, the Venerable Thich Quang Lien, a 37-year-old monk with a degree from Yale) and had a keen insight into American public opinion.

They were aware that one of Diem's major strengths was his ability to control the press strictly, keeping the less attractive aspects of his regime out of print. They also knew of the prevailing official American view, which tacitly approved of Diem's system of press control. Key Americans felt, with considerable justification, that a well publicized Buddhist crisis could only divert energy from winning the war against the Viet Cong.

But the Buddhists were determined to override Diem's press blackout—a blackout that had permitted him to crush nearly every anti-Communist political opposition group in the country without any particular press attention. Obviously, it was a time when only the most drastic measures could have any effect against a regime flanked with tanks, a modern army, and a huge secret police apparatus. The Buddhists desperately needed the eyes of the world in support of their cause, and sought an appropriate eye-catcher.

A human sacrifice

The eye-catcher turned out to be an affable, 73-year-old monk named the Venerable Thich Quang Duc, a Buddhist school teacher. On June 11, 1963, Quang Duc burned himself to death in the middle of a busy Saigon intersection, surrounded by 350 chanting, wailing, banner-waving monks and nuns. The police were too stunned to do much about it.

The Buddhist leaders were aware that a ghastly human sacrifice like Quang Duc's would be pointless unless the Western press—the only free press in the country—carried the word to the outside world.

Chief monks had told all correspondents in Saigon several weeks earlier that two monks had volunteered for death if Buddhist demands were not met. One monk was to burn himself, and the other was to disembowel himself.

The days dragged on, and there were many street demonstrations in which nothing significant happened. Press interest lagged. It happened that I was

the only Western newsman present during the street procession in which Quang Duc died.

I have been asked why I didn't try to do something to stop that suicide once I realized what was happening. Actually, I probably could have done nothing in any case, since the monks and nuns had clearly rehearsed their roles for the ceremony many times, and had prepared methods for blocking interference. Police fire trucks were halted by monks who threw themselves under the wheels.

But frankly it never occurred to me to interfere. I have always felt that a newsman's duty is to observe and report the news, not try to change it. This attitude may be subject to criticism, but that is how I reacted on July 11, and how I would react again.

As a matter of duty, I photographed the whole horrible sequence of Quang Duc's suicide, and relayed the pictures and story as fast as possible into The Associated Press network. It is difficult to conceive of any newsman acting otherwise.

But reaction came swiftly as, I am sure, the Buddhists had anticipated. At a single blow, they had won

their battle to focus world attention on their campaign. It is significant within the scope of this article that had a Western newsman with a camera not been present at Quang Duc's suicide, history might have taken a different turn.

Millions of words had been written about the Buddhist crisis, but the pictures carried an incomparable impact. I have been told that when Henry Cabot Lodge was called in to see President Kennedy about taking over the ambassadorship to Viet Nam, the President had on his desk a copy of my photograph of Quang Duc.

Buddhist leaders made huge enlargements of the photograph, most of them colored in by artists, which they carried at the heads of processions. Men and women, tears streaming from their eyes, bowed in reverent prayer before the photograph. Letters reached me that back-alley vendors of "feelthy pictures" in towns as distant as Lisbon and Dar-es-Salaam were hawking copies of the photograph.

Communist China printed up huge volumes of the photograph for distribution throughout Southeast

Browne's photograph: "... had a Western newsman with a camera not been present at Quang Duc's suicide, history might have taken a different turn."



Associated Press

Asia. Captions described the suicide as the work of "the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their Diemist lackeys." A wave of suicides in Quang Duc style was reported from Burma, Ceylon, India, France, Japan, Korea, and elsewhere.

In the United States, a group of prominent clergymen used the photograph in full-page advertisements in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, over the caption: "We, too, protest."

In short, that picture meant many things to many people, but none of those things did the Diem regime much good.

Diem and his family felt strongly about the matter. Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu, his sister-in-law, again denounced the Western press, and government rumors began to spread about the credibility of foreign correspondents. Diem himself asked former U.S. Ambassador Frederick E. Nolting, Jr., if it were true that I had bribed the Buddhist monks to murder one of their number by fire for the purpose of getting a good picture.

Heavy-handed though Diem often had been with foreign newsmen, I was stunned by this particular tactic. The president was surely well informed about all my activities, since his men had kept me under the strictest surveillance for many weeks past, and, in any case, I had never attempted to hide anything.

At any rate, strictures on the Western press grew increasingly severe. Getting any news or photographs out of Viet Nam became a major smuggling operation. On one occasion, I found myself completely without resources and appealed to an American ambassador (to another country) who happened to be passing through Saigon to carry out some film and copy for me. He willingly agreed, having seen what these items were.

I will not mention his name, but if he should happen to read this, once again, I thank him with all my heart. There were all too few people willing to help newsmen in those days.

These are some of the pitfalls of reporting in crisis—physical censorship at the source, or of actual news output, harassment by authorities, and the dangers of involvement in stories, even when such involvement is wholly involuntary.

In large measure, I am convinced they can be overcome by attention to detail, hard work, and most of all, fairness at all cost. On the whole, I believe the reporting from South Viet Nam was essentially fair and complete during 1963.

But there are other difficulties besides those described above.

The flow of news from the event to the reader, listener, or viewer is essentially a two-way street. It

depends not only on the news itself but on the demands of the news consumer.

The news consumer in America is a busy man or woman. He or she is leading a life of his or her own, in which news may be consumed as entertainment, as information, or a combination of the two. There is little time for detailed study of issues and complicated situations like those that pertained, for example, in South Viet Nam in 1963.

Readers and editors therefore demand their news in the simplest capsules available, sometimes limiting their consumption to mere headlines.

Having once been a newspaper desk man, I have a keen appreciation for the exacting and difficult work of the headline writer. He must pack as much information as possible into a very small space. Numbers are ideally suited to headline writing.

The number of home runs, the number of weekend traffic fatalities, and the number of delegates pledged to a given political candidate all are apt subjects for headlines. So are battle casualties in Viet Nam, or the number of Buddhists, or the number of square miles controlled by the Communists.

But, unfortunately, Viet Nam does not lend itself well to numerical reporting, or even to the kind of simple, narrative statement required of the average newspaper lead. There are too many uncertainties, too many shades of gray, too many dangers of applying English-language clichés to a situation that cannot be described by clichés.

Alien social patterns

Obviously, there are human elements in Viet Nam that can be described adequately in simple terms, because they are universal. But there are other things so alien to American social patterns and thinking that they cannot be reported simply.

War reporting in itself, for example, is technically fairly simple. Reporting a single clash with X number of casualties is not unlike reporting a sports event. By an adroit use of verbs, the writer can create an impact that comes close to reproducing reality.

But in Viet Nam, the actual clashes are probably less important than the subtle thinking of people and the social upheaval of the nation. These are difficult to capture in words, and for a reader to digest.

There is nothing very dramatic, for instance, about a water shortage and the red tape in which a well-drilling project was bogged down. Yet this situation probably has a more far-reaching effect on both the military and political status of the area than all the battles fought there to date.

This kind of thing is called "feature material," or "the news behind the news," generally published

deep inside newspapers, if at all. This is reasonable, since editors know their readers are much less concerned with water shortages than with more spectacular developments.

In short, I believe one of the deficiencies of reporting is in the news consumer himself. He gets exactly as much substantial information as he asks for — neither more, nor less.

Still, the main responsibility for news falls on the correspondent, and part of that responsibility is in keeping his readers interested enough to read on.

Foreign correspondents must work harder than other kinds of newsmen, because they have so much more to cover. Even with the largest staff of assistants of any news organization in Viet Nam, I still have found a seven-day-a-week schedule necessary. This is a country where communications are primitive, and in which different conditions apply in every one of the forty-three provinces.

Many newsmen here have no assistance at all, even though South Viet Nam has dominated headline play for years. Most correspondents wish all news organizations would expand their foreign staffs. But for practical, financial reasons, this usually is impossible. Correspondents are expensive.

Another problem is that newsmen sometimes lack the necessary background in covering foreign assignments, particularly when the newsmen are only given a few days or weeks in a particular country. Resident correspondents have the advantage of on-the-job training and eventually become qualified to do the basic investigation and research themselves. Visitors must rely on translators, official spokesmen, and dozens of other second-hand sources who may or may not be trying to sell them a bill of goods.

I think it is significant that the late President Diem, who so deeply disliked and distrusted the Western press, frequently received visiting newsmen and women, but never granted interviews to resident correspondents. He knew that they knew too much.

The problems that have beset correspondents reporting the crises of Viet Nam are not new, and they will continue in various forms here and throughout the world. Reporting will, at times, be inaccurate, deficient, or misleading. But despite his or her shortcomings, the foreign correspondent, in my mind, is one of the most fundamentally honest and dedicated human beings in the world. He loves the challenge of a really tough story more than any other opportunity, and has given up a lot of comforts to grasp this challenge.

As long as there are men and women who fit this pattern, reporting from abroad will always drag the basic truth from the snares of crisis.

The turmoil continues

From Newsweek, September 7, 1964:

In the nine months since the fall of Diem, harassment of reporters critical of South Vietnam policy has abated. Yet the truth of what is really happening in the Southeast Asian nation seems just as illusory. In a strange, Communist-threatened country teetering on the edge of collapse, filled with suspicion, and infiltrated with spies, reporting has taken on the aspects of a Pirandello play with settings by Dali.

As last week's riots mounted to a state of war within a war, newsmen frantically sought to separate shadow from substance. If they could scarcely trust the pronouncements issued by the beleaguered Saigon government, neither could reporters trust the enigmatic Buddhist monks and cynical student leaders they sought out in the back alleys of the capital. "The students," said one correspondent, "are obviously trying to use the news media to amplify their own tiny voice and discredit Khanh's regime in the eyes of the foreign public."

The State Department and the Pentagon, which have rarely let events disturb their sangunity, insisted that newsmen tend to believe too much of what they hear in the back alleys, and consequently misrepresent the tangled situation. "Those reporters in Saigon take a defeatist attitude," one Pentagon official said. Nevertheless, it was clear to anyone within gunshot of Saigon that American policy and American interests were in serious trouble last week . . .

The feud between American newsmen and the U.S. and South Vietnam governments shows no signs of ending. "There is a crying need for improvement in relations between press and officials," says the Associated Press's Malcolm Browne . . .

To some extent, the Pentagon has tried to improve its Vietnamese image. With a burst of public fanfare, the Defense Department in July initiated what reporters now wryly call "Operation Candor," a \$50,000 program designed to expand press facilities in Saigon, lower information barriers, and give more nonresident reporters a firsthand look at the war and the warriors. "The newsmen in Saigon were having a tough time and the rules sometimes were frustrating," conceded the often testy Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. "We want to help the newsmen get the job done." . . .

Is Operation Candor doing any good at all? Very little, say most of the resident correspondents, who generally agree that difficulties encountered in covering the Vietnam story are less a matter of policy than of poor judgment, inexperience, and individual failings among local officials.

An editorial: *The attack on the press*

The *Columbia Journalism Review* has sometimes been accused of being too critical of facets of American journalism. Now, however, it has the privilege of taking the offensive on behalf of America's news media. The campaign attacks on the news integrity of *all media as a class* have been unfair, irresponsible, and, in some cases, vicious.

Sweeping charges of print and broadcast "distortion" and "suppression" of news have long been a standard technique of the shabbiest demagogues — of Huey Long, Father Coughlin, Earl Browder, and Fritz Kuhn. Protests against editorial-page views have been a commonplace, too, as in the old Democratic "one-party press" complaint. What distinguishes the recent wave of attacks is that they have been broadside assaults on the integrity of *news* reporting and have come from what would normally be considered a "respectable" part of the political spectrum.

From large-scale sampling of press and broadcast output, investigation of charges, and examination of other available material, five clear points emerge:

1. Barry Goldwater has been the object of editorial-page, column, and commentary criticism far more widespread and vigorous than that encountered by any Republican nominee within memory. There is nothing unfair or dishonest in this fact alone; editorials, columns, and commentaries are expected to take sides, so long as they do not descend to scurrility. Such anti-Goldwater comments, moreover, are nearly equalled in vigor by certain conservative columnists' attacks on Lyndon Johnson and on the integrity of business men supporting him.

2. There have been isolated cases of news reporting reflecting unjustly on Goldwater. One example was a broadcast report from Bonn implying a deliberate juncture of Goldwater and Nazi remnants. This and other cases are reported elsewhere in this issue.

3. Such cases of injustice in news reporting, however, have been rare and exceptional. In general, Senator Goldwater's activities and utterances, like the President's, have been reported generously, honestly, and literally, in news columns and broadcasts.

4. Specific charges of unfairness, with documentation, have been few. The editors of the *Review* have systematically sought out those issuing generalized

denunciations and requested them to supply examples. Thus far specific citations, aside from the handful of commonly cited examples, have been rare.

5. What the more agitated partisans have viewed as unfairness has generally stemmed from (1) the partisans' tendency to blur the distinction between news and clearly labeled comment and (2) the confusing output of the candidate himself. One need only study the record (as was ably and honestly done by Hedley W. Donovan, for example, in the September 18 *Life*) to recognize that no recent Presidential candidate has equalled Mr. Goldwater in imprecise use of the English language, oversimplification, and seeming self-contradiction. One eminently balanced editor, Erwin Canham of the *Christian Science Monitor*, summed up the problem this way: "In 35 years of political reporting and editing, I have never met a public figure who is more difficult to cover fairly. You have to work very hard to protect the man against his own indiscretions..."

The whole spectacle suggests two conclusions:

First, the media have a responsibility to society and themselves to demand specific chapter and verse citations from those who charge "distortion," "misrepresentation," and "suppression." When any such citations are forthcoming, they should be reported and discussed publicly. Society can only gain from such discussion of specific charges.

Second, the media have a responsibility to resist intimidation, which is the admitted aim of some who denounce them. Today's political reporter must be more than a stenographer; he must use intelligence as well as shorthand. Modern journalism must of course report faithfully what a candidate says, but it must also put his words in the context of a campaign's issues, his previous positions, and the facts of record. There is abundant evidence every day that this can be done fairly and impartially.

It is just such reporting in context, when it is done well, that has been a major advance in the journalism of the last decade — and not a betrayal, as some critics would have it. This has been true of broadcast journalism as well as newspapers. To retreat from this progress out of fear of being slandered would be a loss for journalism and for society.

The campaign: selected cases

1. Defoliation or misquotation?

DAVID LAWRENCE: Sen. Goldwater can certainly point a finger of blame at the unfortunate reporting job that was done over the week end in telling the world that he favored the use of atomic bombs against the enemy in Viet Nam when he actually never made any such recommendation or proposal. (column in *New York Herald Tribune*, May 28, 1964.)

Senator Goldwater's statement on Viet Nam on American Broadcasting Company television, May 24, 1964, as printed in the same column:

"Well, it is not as easy as it sounds, because these are not trails that are out in the open. I have been in these rain forests of Burma and South China. You are perfectly safe wandering through them as far as an enemy hurting you. There have been several suggestions made. I don't think we would use any of them. But defoliation of the forests by low-yield atomic weapons could well be done. When you remove the foliage, you remove the cover. The major supply lines, though, I think, would have to be interdicted where they leave Red China, which is the Red River Valley above North Viet Nam, and there, according to my studies of the geography, it would not be a difficult task to destroy those basic routes."

SENATOR GOLDWATER: The Associated Press eliminated the key sentence, "but one that will not be

In this space, the *Review* airs incidents involving journalism and politics in this election year, and, where possible, offers documentation that may throw light on them. There have been many additional charges, too general to be susceptible to reasonable proof or rebuttal. In as many such cases as possible, the *Review* has written to persons making the charges, asking for specifics. Some of the instances are covered in these pages; others will be handled in the next issue.

The illustrations here deal only in special cases that have become involved in controversy. A review of one week's coverage of Senator Goldwater appears on page 15 and following.

used," and around the world went the distorted story of my desire to use nuclear weapons on the Vietnamese. It is true that the A.P. later retracted and corrected but the damage had been done. (letter to James Reston, quoted in column in *The New York Times*, July 8, 1964.)

Versions of story that appeared in morning papers: *Louisville Courier-Journal*, using AP:

Goldwater Wants A-Bombs Used On Vietnam's Borders

Washington (U)—Senator Bar. "You might have to," he ry Goldwater said yesterday said. "But we are confronted with that decision. Either that could be used to defoliate the or we have a war dragged atomic bombs in South Viet- forests along South Vietnam's out and dragged out . . . nam. border to expose the jungle If we decide to go into this supply lines of the Communist- war in a full-scale way, certain- ed. "He did not dare to say led rebels. ly we would have to make straight forwardly that the The front-running contender the decision on strategic sup- bomb would wipe out every- for the Republican presidential ples for the enemy at the thing living from the face of none—on also and bomb—me time it is the war we the much suffering last of

Albany Times-Union, using UPI:

Barry Suggests Viet A-Bombing

Washington, May 24 (UPI)—Sen. Barry F. Goldwater suggested today that low yield atomic weapons could be used in Viet Nam to remove foliage from the forests and thus expose Communist supply trails.

The Arizona Republican made the comment in a televised discussion of what he believed could well be done. When you remove the foliage, you remove the cover."

Barry's Asia Cure: Use A-Weapons

Times Wire Services

WASHINGTON — Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., would use low yield atomic weapons to destroy jungle cover, which hides supply-bearers from Red China and North Viet Nam slipping into American-supported South Viet Nam.

"When you remove the foliage, you remove the cover," the Republican presidential hopeful said yesterday.

He added that since Red China is the principal supplier to the Communist-led Viet Cong forces, he wouldn't hesitate to attack the Chinese side of the border with Communist North

Times of London, from Reuters:

ATOM BOMB SUGGESTION BY MR. GOLDWATER

WASHINGTON, May 24 — Senator Barry Goldwater, a leading contender for the Republican presidential nomination, suggested today that low-yield atomic bombs should be dropped on South Vietnam jungles to expose communist supply lines.

The senator was asked in a recorded radio and television interview how he would deal with South Vietnam communist jungle trails which could not be spotted from the air. He replied: "There have been several suggestions made. I do not think we would use any of them. But defoliation of the forests by low-yield atomic weapons could well be done. When you remove the foliage, you remove the cover."—*Reuter*.

COMMENT: Although The Associated Press admittedly committed an error, it was not alone in giving the impression that Senator Goldwater had suggested the use of nuclear weapons in Viet Nam. Both major wire services were misled. This amounted to mishandling of a complex statement, which had a heavy emphasis on the possibility of using such weapons and only a minor disclaimer.

2. "Striking for the jugular"

RUTH MONTGOMERY, Hearst Headline Service: The manner in which the so-called liberal press has been striking for the jugular of front-running GOP presidential candidate Barry Goldwater is about as sportsmanlike as a trip to Dachau under Hitler. Three stories running side-by-side on the front page of a Washington newspaper last week carried the following leads: [see illustration]. Americans should perhaps be suffering agony, but not because the conservative Senator from Arizona has a long lead over his GOP rivals. Rather, it should be because they cannot read unbiased reporting about him on the "news" pages of numerous papers. (June 21, 1964)

Portion of page one of *The Washington Post*, June 8, 1964:

Goldwater Foes Seek Leadership

Romney Sees Peril
Of Party Suicide;
Others Aroused

By Edward T. Follard

CLEVELAND, June 7 — In spite of a warning that the nomination of Sen. Barry Goldwater for President might mean the ultimate "destruction" of the Republican Party, his political foes seemed unable today to organize stop-Goldwater movement here at the annual Governors' Conference.

Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania refused to make himself a rallying point for the moderates of the Grand Old Party. He said that, although former President Eisenhower had asked him to make himself "more available," there had been "no major change in my availability."

Scranton made it clear that he was not happy over the talk about his becoming the Republican vice presidential nominee on a ticket headed by Goldwater. He suggested that former vice president Richard M. Nixon be Goldwater's running mate, saying they would make "a better team."

Romney Speaks Out

The boldest voice heard in Cleveland today was that of Gov. George Romney of Michigan, who at this point is strongly opposed to Goldwater. He is a Mormon and, as he explained, it is against his principles to do any such thing on a Sunday, but he felt he had to speak out because of the serious situation facing the GOP.

He said: "It is my conviction that the Republican Party in its 1964 convention will either take actions that will enable the Party to provide the leadership the Nation needs, or commence the suicidal destruction of the Republican Party as an effective instrument in meeting the Nation's needs."

Romney was asked if he meant that the nomination of Goldwater would commence the suicidal destruction of the Republican Party.

Wants Talk With Goldwater

"Unless his personal convictions are completely disinterested, I am not interested in his views," he said.

Scranton Interview Reflects GOP Agony

By Chalmers M. Roberts

The agony of the Republican Party was visible to the Nation on television yesterday when Gov. William W. Scranton went before the cameras.

It might have been otherwise. Indeed, there is reason to believe that a mighty campaign to put over Scranton as the "compromise" candidate was all set to go last week—until Sen. Barry Goldwater upset the plan by winning the California primary.

And so instead of being the focus of a draft as an alternative to Goldwater and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Scranton yesterday could only make himself a bit more available in case the

Party chieftains can get up the nerve to try to stop the Goldwater handwagon. Some of his detractors used to call the Pennsylvania Governor "the Harris-

News Analysis

burg Hamlet" because of his reluctant approach to the GOP nomination. But yesterday on "Face the Nation" (CBS-WTOP) Scranton acted like a man trapped in a cage with a bear, alternating between saying "nice kitty" and "you's a bad animal."

Perhaps, politically speaking, See *Gov. A4, Col. 3*

The Harris Survey

40% of California GOP Lean Toward Johnson

By Louis Harris

© 1964, The Washington Post Co.

LOS ANGELES—Despite Sen. Barry Goldwater's victory in last Tuesday's Republican primary, GOP voters in California still had no clear-cut first choice for their presidential nomination.

As they went to the polls, Goldwater had emerged in first place, but with fewer than 30 per cent who named him as their real preference. Almost equal numbers of Republicans wanted someone else—Lodge, Nixon or Rockefeller.

Part of the reason for this lack of a clear consensus among Republicans lies in the negative reaction to the declared front-runners, the lack of campaigning on the part of Nixon, the absence of Lodge from the scene and public unfamiliarity with Scranton.

But part also rests in the strong support for President Johnson in the country as a whole, even among Republican voters.

In California, Mr. Johnson would carry the state today against either Goldwater or Rockefeller by 65-35 per cent. Contributing to the Johnson margin is the fact that as of last week about 40 per cent of the Republicans in California would vote for the President against either Goldwater or Rockefeller.

This lack of polarization among Republican voters was never more evident than in the way the campaign in California bobbed up and down to the top and, as recorded in

the last day a surge up for the Arizona Senator to win it. But perhaps a truer picture of what was going on in the minds of California voters rests in the trend of first choice preferences as recorded before Oregon, just after, and finally on the day before last Tuesday's voting:

FIRST CHOICE OF
GOP IN CALIFORNIA

	June	May	May
	1	18	10
Goldwater	28	21	28
Lodge	24	22	32
Nixon	21	23	22
Rockefeller	29	26	10
Scranton	5	2	4
Smith	1	1	1
Not Sure	1	5	—

At no time in the last month in California did any one of the leading Republican candidates amass more than 32 per cent support from the rank-and-file. Rockefeller jumped from 10 per cent to 28 per cent and then fell off to 20 per cent in the final days. Goldwater began at 28 per cent, dipped to 21 per cent, and then came back to 28 per cent—the first time he headed the pack. Lodge started off strong before Oregon, fell over points

COMMENT: Subject to individual judgment.

3. Turncoat press

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE: The Goldwater men are tired of having the Republican presidential ticket picked by the Democratic press. They remember that a majority of the influential press supported Willkie and Dewey against Taft, but plumped in the end for the Democrats (news conference, San Francisco, July 7, 1964.)

COMMENT: If the "influential" press is taken to mean the "prestige press"—the papers picked in polls as the outstanding dailies in the country—then Mrs. Luce is wrong. A list of fifteen outstanding dailies (based on a poll of editors published in 1960) shows the following results:

1940: Nine backed Willkie; three supported Roosevelt; three remained neutral.

1944: Records incomplete, showing only two for each candidate.

1948: Ten backed Dewey; one, Truman; four, nobody.

(Tabulation is based on *Editor & Publisher's* quadrennial poll.)

4. Quashing the senator

THE NATIONAL REVIEW: Even as recently as a year ago, a speech by Senator Goldwater was likely to be reported, if at all, somewhere amongst the obituaries, or perhaps in the section of the paper devoted to establishing the sailing times of ships in port. The Establishment was, and is, powerful enough to quash a mere senator... (editorial, July 28, 1964).

COMMENT: The annual index of an "Establishment" newspaper, *The New York Times*, shows a listing of Goldwater entries totaling one and a quarter columns in 1963 and three quarters of a column in 1962—a total of two columns of fine type simply giving the subjects and dates of stories on Senator Goldwater. Another senator—the majority whip, Hubert Humphrey—had three quarters of a column in 1963 and slightly less in 1962—a total of about one and a half columns of references.

5. "Dad-burned dirty lie"

SENATOR GOLDWATER: CBS has pulled three sneakers on me that I'll never forgive them for... This last week for example, they not only denied my wife and I an enjoyable visit to Germany to visit some good friends, they have done damage to the 7th Army, to the Commanding General of the 7th Army, and to relations generally there by reporting that Goldwater was going to return to the site of the Fuehrer's point of starting and start his campaign there, that I had accepted an invitation to speak in Germany to a Right-wing group, that my effort would be to cement the relationships between the extremist groups of America and Germany. This is nothing but a — and I won't swear, but you know what I'm thinking — a dad-burned dirty lie. My men contacted the president of CBS, told him about it, and they haven't the decency to apologize. (statement in interview with KOOL-TV, Phoenix, July 17, 1964, rebroadcast over CBS television network.)

Transcript of Daniel Schorr portion of *World News Roundup* on the CBS Radio network, July 10:

It seems the first round of planning with civil rights, extremism, control of nuclear weapons and other issues that could produce a showdown.

Whether or not Barry Goldwater wins the Presidential nomination in San Francisco next week, he'll be vacationing soon afterward in West Germany. Some details of his journey, reported now by Daniel Schorr in Munich:

SCHORR: It looks as though Senator Goldwater, if nominated, may be starting his campaign here in Bavaria, center of Germany's right wing. Despite conflicting word from San Francisco, he is still scheduled, as far as known here, to fly to Munich soon after the convention for a vacation at Berchtesgaden, Hitler's one-time stamping ground, and now an American Army recreation center. The invitation was extended some time ago by his friend, Lieutenant General William Quinn, Commander of the Seventh Army, who it's understood is somewhat embarrassed to see it picked up now, with the likelihood that he'll be entertaining the Republican Presidential candidate. In addition, Goldwater has tentatively agreed to speak next weekend at the annual seminar of the German Evangelical Academy on Bavaria's Lake Starnberg, an important sounding board in Germany, where Chancellor Adenauer spoke last year. Whether Goldwater comes right after the convention or a couple of weeks later, it looks as though the Senator's interview with *Der Spiegel* magazine, with its hard-line views appealing to German right-wingers, that this is only the start of a move to link up with German rightists, and that may cut across a current German foreign policy squabble.

Bavaria's Christian Social party, led by ex-Defense Minister Franz-Josef Strauss, is opening its annual convention here today, preparing for a showdown with Chancellor Erhard over his allegedly soft line in refusal to unite with President de Gaulle of France. Erhard, visiting Washington recently, showed no interest in meeting Goldwater. Now Goldwater is coming to Germany's deep south with no plans to meet Erhard. Thus there are signs that American and German right wings are linking up, and this may add a new dimension to the political picture, both in America and in Germany. This is CBS News Correspondent Daniel Schorr in Munich.

TOWNSEND: Washington today is watching the interrelated problems of Vietnam and Red China. Marvin Kalb reports from the Capitol.

KALB: The Chinese Communists have seized the State's...

Statement broadcast by CBS-TV on the CBS evening news, July 17, 1964:

"CBS cannot understand why the story Sen. Goldwater refers to caused him to cancel his trip to Germany. Sen. Goldwater denied the story, and his denial was carried widely by newspapers, radio and television. The President of CBS was not contacted by any member of Sen. Goldwater's staff. The CBS news correspondent on the story in question, Daniel Schorr, broadcast the following clarifying statement from Germany on the CBS World News Roundup Thursday morning—we quote:

"In speaking the other day of a move by Sen. Goldwater to link up with these forces (Schorr refers here to German Right-wing forces) I did not mean to suggest a conscious effort on his part, of which there is no proof here, but meant more a process of gravitation which is visible here."

From *The New York Times*, July 15, 1964:

SENATOR IN TOUCH WITH BONN RIGHT

Goldwater Corresponds With
German Conservatives

By ARTHUR J. OLSEN

Special to The New York Times

BONN, July 14 — Senator Barry Goldwater has been in correspondence with the Sudeten-German leader, Hans Christoph Seebohm, and other conservative West German politicians.

Competent informants said today that Mr. Goldwater and Mr. Seebohm, who is Transport Minister in Chancellor Ludwig Erhard's Cabinet, had been in "frequent and friendly" correspondence for some time.

Mr. Seebohm was chastised by Chancellor Erhard last month after he delivered a militant speech at an annual Sudeten-German expellee rally in Nuremberg. He asserted that the Munich Agreement of 1938 remained a legally binding compact and demanded "the return of Sudeten-German lands to the Sudeten-Germans."

The Sudetenland, which contains a large number of Germans, was yielded to Germany by Czechoslovakia in 1938. After the war it was returned to Czechoslovakia.

The Goldwater - Seebohm correspondence was said to include an exchange of views on a broad range of political issues. It appears to be an aspect of a general interest the Arizona Senator has shown in conservative West German politics.

Several weeks ago Mr. Goldwater gave an interview to the national Zeitung und Soldaten Zeitung, an extreme rightist weekly published in Munich. The Senator, whose views on Germany's war guilt pleased the newspaper, has been rewarded with enthusiastic editorial support.

COMMENT: Schorr, as he indicated in his later statement, was guilty of unfairness in his phrasing and conclusions. However, he was not wrong in indicating that there had been contacts between Senator Goldwater and German conservatives (see the *Times* story above). The question that remains for subjective judgment is whether CBS, Schorr and the *Times* were unfair in calling attention to any such activity by a potential Presidential candidate.

6. An Eisenhower appearance

From a story in *The New York Times*, October 7:

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 (AP) —Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower said today that he had taken no position on a Republican task force report criticizing President Johnson's policy on control of tactical nuclear weapons.

The former President, in a statement issued from his Gettysburg, Pa., office, said that "certain press accounts" had misinterpreted his remarks of yesterday.

General Eisenhower's remarks, as reported in the *Times* of October 6:

General Eisenhower said he had not studied all of the report and was not "agreeing or disagreeing with any particular point." Under questioning, he said each President must determine how to discharge his own defense duties.

"What I did," General Eisenhower said, "was part of the secret security arrangements of the United States, and therefore I have never repeated to anyone what those arrangements were, outside of some secret conclaves, and I don't intend to do so now."

He affirmed that he believed nuclear weapons were needed to defend Western Europe.

The United States, he went on, must have "the will to use at the proper time what may be necessary."

But General Eisenhower turned sharp when asked whether he believed the NATO commander had sufficient authority now.

"Do you think that the United States is benefited by discussing in detail how the United States is going to defend itself?" he demanded. "Do you want him [the President] to tell the public everything he is going to do, every system he will use?"

"I don't think we should reach conclusions telling the President what he should do or what he should say," General Eisenhower said. "I don't think the use of nuclear weapons should be a campaign issue."

Headline on story in *Washington Post*, October 6:

Ike Opposes/GOP Report/ On A-Policy

Headline in *Baltimore Sun*, October 6:

**EX-PRESIDENT AVOIDS
STAND ON REPORT ON
CONTROL OF WEAPONS**

COMMENT: The *Post* (and other papers using the *Post* story) did not distinguish between Eisenhower's attitude toward the report and his attitude on the use of the nuclear issue in the campaign. Although this distinction may not have been crystal clear, some papers did recognize it.

One week with Goldwater

Among the complaints being filed against journalism in this campaign year the most frequent is the charge that the political orientation of reporters and editors causes day-to-day distortion of the statements and actions of conservatives, particularly the Republican Presidential candidate. Without expecting to settle the question, but in hope of throwing light on it, the *Review* examined coverage of Senator Goldwater's activities in its national sample of newspapers for the week of August 24 to 30.

This happened to be the week of the Democratic National Convention, but it also provided a variety of stories about the senator's activities: a policy statement, a formal speech with an unannounced interpolation, a news conference with a following clarification, and three statements of reaction to the proceedings in Atlantic City.

The coverage of each of these events is analyzed in the columns following. First, though, the coverage in the newspapers as a group suggested the following conclusions:

1. There was no significant difference in frequency of coverage in the papers that have declared editorial support of Senator Goldwater, those that have come out for President Johnson, and those that were not committed, as of October 5. Of the twenty-eight papers in the sample, four were supporting or leaning strongly toward Senator Goldwater, fifteen were for President Johnson, and the rest were still undeclared. The four Goldwater papers each carried a story on the senator every day, but so did three undeclared papers and three pro-Johnson papers.

2. The total space devoted to Senator Goldwater seemed to depend on the amount of news space in the paper, not on other factors. Only one of the Goldwater papers — the *Los Angeles Times* — de-

voted as much space to the senator as did *The New York Times*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, or the *Chicago Daily News* — all of these, papers that have declared for Johnson. Spottier and less detailed coverage was found, as in any other national story, in smaller papers and papers that are careless in pursuing stories from day to day.

3. This said, many of the papers can be faulted for slipshod newspaper practice. A handful, for example, simply ignored the interpolation on Viet Nam in the senator's Cleveland speech and continued to run the early story based on the prepared text. Others overstated or ignored the senator's explanation of his position on negotiations with China, a subject that arose during his shipboard news conference.

4. There was no consistent difference in the character of the stories originating from different reporters and news services. Almost all were unexceptionably confined to flat statements of fact, and direct or indirect quotation. Occasionally, a reporter would strain to produce a bright lead, which would usually be dimmed again by many of the papers. Notably lacking — perhaps because the analytical talent was concentrated in Atlantic City — were interpretative stories. An exception was the article on Senator Goldwater's definitions of nuclear weapons by James McCartney of the *Chicago Daily News*.

In this small slice, at least, the flaws of omission and commission do not appear to the *Review's* editors to differ in quality from those that would occur, given similar difficulties, involving any other public figure. Possibly the most surprising is that all the attention focused by critics on the coverage of Senator Goldwater had not led, as the campaign began, to extraordinary care on the part of many papers in handling stories about the senator.

Monday, August 24

Goldwater Spells Out Farm Plans

Tuesday, August 25

Barry Meets Businessmen, GOP Leaders

Wednesday, August 26

Goldwater Warns Word Of Viet Nam 'Peace' Due

1. Farm program statement

On Sunday night, August 23, Senator Goldwater released a statement advocating voluntary farm price supports. Wire-service stories using quotations and paraphrases from the statement, appeared in eight of the eighteen morning newspapers in the sample. One afternoon paper carried the story and summaries appeared in a few other afternoon papers appended to stories on the senator's Monday activities. Six afternoon papers did not mention the statement. The maximum length was fifteen column inches. The only questionable treatment was in the *Raleigh News and Observer* (pro-Johnson). The *News and Observer*, a tobacco-country paper, had carried nothing on the statement itself on Monday, but had a Tuesday story under the curious headline:

Cooley Bludgeons
Barry on Props

The story quoted an attack on the Goldwater proposal by a North Carolina member of Congress. The story incorporated a three-paragraph summary of the Goldwater statement. Representative Cooley had ten paragraphs.

2. Visit to New York

On Monday, August 24, Senator Goldwater flew from Washington to New York and talked to groups of businessmen. All three of his meetings were closed to the press, thus offering opportunity for speculation. The Monday afternoon and Tuesday morning

papers, almost all of which carried a story about the visit, differed considerably in headlines:

Goldwater/Out to Woo/Top Execs (*Chicago Daily News*)

Barry Goes to New York to Keep
GOP's Big Money Men in Line (*Cleveland Press*)

Barry to Discuss/Industry Problems (*Oakland Tribune*)

Goldwater Woos 'Establishment'
(*San Francisco Chronicle*)

All the stories were of modest length, the longest in the sample being Don Irwin's for the *Los Angeles Times* (19 inches). Eventually reporters were able to get a good share of the names of the hosts and guests, but little of the content of what was said.

3. Speech in Cleveland

Senator Goldwater's only formal address of the week was delivered on Tuesday afternoon to the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Cleveland. Stories based on the prepared text of the speech emphasized the candidate's renewed advocacy of arming NATO forces with tactical nuclear weapons. But he departed from the text of the speech to discuss the possibility he saw of a negotiated peace in Viet Nam.

All but one of the afternoon papers in the sample (*The Anchorage Times*) and all but one of the morning papers (the *Raleigh News and Observer*) carried stories on the speech. It appeared on fourteen of twenty-eight front pages, with a maximum of

Thursday, August 27

Goldwater Would OK Peking Talks

Sunday, August 30

Goldwater Bids Johnson Explain Vietnam Policy

Friday, August 28

Goldwater Glad Humphrey Named

39 column inches of copy (*Cleveland Press*). One paper, the *Washington Star*, also printed the prepared text.

Four papers did not contain any word of the unexpected material on Viet Nam. Yet all four printed the stories as if the speech had already been delivered. The *New York Journal-American* story (from AP) simply phrased it, "In a speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars the Republican Presidential nominee said..." The *Oregon Journal* had the same story.

But the *Cleveland Press* (home edition) added such details as: "A packed Public Hall heard his address." Later stories in other papers mentioned that there were a few empty seats.

The *Flint Journal* found itself with two stories on two pages — one on the prepared speech and another on the interpolated Viet Nam material.

Surprisingly, the *Boston Record American* for the following morning still was carrying the advance story, without a word of the discussion of Viet Nam.

In each of these cases, the papers delivered a report that turned out to be incomplete. The mistake in this case was not irrecoverable; but suppose the senator had decided to discard his whole speech? The lack of the appropriate qualifying phrase could have been a cause of real embarrassment.

4. News Conference in Avalon

For reporters and headline writers the most difficult story of the week was the news conference Senator Goldwater held late Wednesday, August 26, aboard the yacht *Sundance* in the harbor at Santa

Catalina Island, off California's coast. He had just begun a vacation there after flying west.

During the conference, the candidate made statements that some newsmen took as indicating that he might be willing, if elected, to negotiate with Peking on a settlement in Viet Nam.

On the following day, Charles Mohr of *The New York Times* wrote: "A minor, but indicative, example of semantic difficulties arising from the news conference was seen when reporters found in their notebooks a remark by Mr. Goldwater that any peace formula in South Vietnam must take into account 'the intentions of the Red Chinese, which I don't think will abate, although they might let up.'"

Reporters, not sure of the intent of the statements, asked the senator's press secretary, Paul Wagner, to call up the *Sundance* and ask for clarification.

Newsweek for September 7 contained the most extensive quotation from the clarification:

"Paul Wagner, after speaking on ship-to-shore telephone, suggested that his boss had a sort of ultimatum in mind rather than negotiation [with Peking]. He quoted Goldwater as telling him: 'It has been suggested to me by military people and some civilian experts' that when the military situation is improved, the Red Chinese must be told to stop sending Red guerrillas or else the U.S. would stage a show of force — 'like blowing up a bridge, or something.' To which Goldwater added, 'I'm not recommending this, but it might not be an impossible idea.'"

"'He was talking,' Wagner explained, 'about negotiation in the sense that you tell them what

you're going to do if they don't stop . . . Those were not firm positions, really. The senator was just talking over some ideas. It wasn't a press conference.'"

The conference was held too late for any of the Wednesday afternoon papers in the *Review* sample. It received play in all but two (Boston *Record American* and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*) of the following morning's papers. The *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* carried the most detailed stories—34 and 31 column inches respectively. A second-day story summarizing the conference appeared in nine of eleven afternoon papers.

The ship-to-shore clarification left reporters and copy editors to decide how much of Wagner's clarification was news and how much was simply part of the internal mechanics of newsgathering. Only *The New York Times* and its news service directly quoted the phrasing, "blowing up a bridge, or something." Some services mentioned the bridge, but used a paraphrase. Other stories did not mention the bridge, but used such phrases as "show of force." Still others did not mention the clarification at all. The variety of headlines that appeared over the stories suggests the morass:

Peking Peace/Talks Proposed/by Goldwater
(*Los Angeles Times*)

Goldwater Warns Against/'Giveaway' in S. Viet Nam
(*The Houston Post*)

Within Limits: Goldwater Suggests/Red Chinese Talks
(*Minneapolis Morning Tribune*)

Barry Thinks Peace Try/In Viet Nam Unwise Now
(*The Indianapolis Star*)

Vietnam Talks/Seen by Barry/May Be Under Way/
Already, He Declares (*Arkansas Gazette*)

Goldwater Raps/Vietnam Status/Any Negotiations
Would Be/Unprofitable At This/Time, He Says
(*Memphis Commercial Appeal*)

Some papers took the way of caution:

Goldwater Restates/His Views on Peace
(*Buffalo Courier-Express*)

Barry Seeks/Privacy at Sea/Thinks Johnson/
In Asia Peace Try (*Flint Journal*)

Goldwater Talks on Viet Nam Issue
(*Raleigh News and Observer*)

Conclusions: The press was doing the candidate a favor in making a formal story from rambling talk and in rephrasing an offhand quotation that could have embarrassed both the senator and his press secretary. Even with this help, though, it was every headline writer for himself.

5. Ship-to-shore reactions

Senator Goldwater did not again appear in public during the week. However, he relayed to his press secretary statements commenting on (1) the nomination of Senator Humphrey for the vice presidency, (2) the acceptance speech by President Johnson, and (3) the degeneration of government in South Viet Nam.

The stories, uniformly of modest length, were used by most of the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday papers. As it had throughout the week, the *Los Angeles Times* offered the most detailed versions. The *Raleigh News and Observer*, consistent with its earlier treatment, omitted all three.

These stories did not create the problems presented by the speech or the news conference. Perhaps the greatest difficulty reporters faced was to put the statements in news-story form, rather than a simple transmission of the senator's statement. This led to such straining as the AP lead that began, "In a sea-going slap at President Johnson's foreign policy . . ." Many editors deleted "seagoing" or otherwise changed the phrasing.

These stories, almost identical in character, received similar headline treatment, except in one or two papers where the lack of space caused imprecision:

Barry/On LBJ—/Bad Talk (*San Francisco Examiner*)



GOLDWATER PRESS CONFERENCE ABOARD THE "SUNDANCE"
"If they didn't stop, then you would blow up a bridge . . ."

REPUBLICANS

Words Across the Sea

Republican Presidential Candidate Barry Goldwater was at sea much of last week, ostensibly in retirement during the Democratic Convention.

Yet during most of his five days aboard the borrowed 83-ft. yacht *Sundance*, bobbing in the Pacific off the California coast, Barry stubbornly refused to let any controversies die out, even created some of his own.

willing to negotiate with Red China? Press Aide Paul Wagner hurriedly put in a radiophone call to Barry for further clarification. He came back and told the confused newsmen that Goldwater merely meant that the U.S. should be ready to threaten the Red Chinese if they continued to supply Viet Cong guerrillas—telling them that "if they didn't stop, then you would blow up a bridge or show some other sort of force." Wagner explained that

Time focused on shipboard news conference

GOLDWATER COVERAGE BY INDIVIDUAL PAPERS

Morning papers

ARKANSAS GAZETTE (J)*: One of few papers in the sample to put the Goldwater stories consistently on front page, balancing Democratic stories.

RECORD AMERICAN, Boston (J): Erratic. Had story on Goldwater's Cleveland speech on Wednesday, nothing further until Sunday. Week's total was only 31 column inches, lowest in sample.

BUFFALO COURIER-EXPRESS (U)*: Carried a wire-service story on Goldwater every day, all but one on inside pages.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE (G)*: Gave daily wire-service stories on Goldwater modest display, all but Sunday's on inside of paper.

HOUSTON POST (J): After ignoring Goldwater for two days, gave him detailed coverage rest of week on inside.

INDIANAPOLIS STAR (U, pro-Goldwater): Had a brief Goldwater story every day on inside pages, except on Sunday.

LOS ANGELES TIMES (G): Had its own man (Don Irwin) on the story all week and began his story on page one every day. Had the largest total space (284 column inches) devoted to Goldwater stories in this sample.

COMMERCIAL APPEAL, Memphis (U): Gave Goldwater stories modest but consistent display on inside pages.

MINNEAPOLIS MORNING TRIBUNE (U): Had a Goldwater story every day, using varied sources — both wire services, the *New York Times* service, and a Cowles Washington reporter, Clark Mollenhoff. Two on page one.

THE NEW YORK TIMES (J): Had six Goldwater stories by Charles Mohr, and one from AP. Stories started on page one on four days.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER (J): Had a story on Goldwater every day, using wire services and the *Los Angeles Times*'s Irwin. Two stories appeared on page one.

RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER (J): Coverage was erratic (see text), the most striking omission being lack of a story on Goldwater's Cleveland speech.

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH (U): Carried five Goldwater stories, using wire services and *New York Times* service.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS (J): Had daily Goldwater stories, most of them in marginal positions on the tabloid's pages, deep inside the paper.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE (U, pro-John-

son): Had a daily story, starting on page one four times. Used wire and *New York Times* service.

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER (J): Had daily stories through the middle of the week.

Evening papers

ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT (U): Carried no Goldwater story on two of six days published. One of the days was Thursday, when all but one other morning paper carried a report on the shipboard news conference. The four stories carried were of medium length, with three starting on page one.

ANCHORAGE TIMES (U): Erratic — a large story on the Avalon news conference and none at all on the Cleveland speech.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS (J): Carried a story on five of its six days of publication, either from rewritten wire copy or from James McCartney, a *News Washington* correspondent.

CLEVELAND PRESS (J): Gave two-thirds of page one on Tuesday to local appearance by senator. Other stories were brief UPI items.

KANSAS CITY STAR (J): Carried six stories, all brief, from wire services.

NEW ORLEANS STATES AND ITEM (J): Carried five stories, all from wire services, with biggest emphasis on Cleveland speech.

NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN (J): Carried five stories on four days, one with a local signature, the rest from AP.

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN (J): Had a local story on Monday, used wire copy thereafter.

OAKLAND TRIBUNE (G): Paper of leading Goldwater supporter, William Knowland, gave only routine coverage, via wire service, to Goldwater activities. Longest story — on Cleveland speech — was 21 column inches.

OREGON JOURNAL (J): On-and-off coverage — three brief wire stories during the week.

FLINT JOURNAL (U): Carried a daily Goldwater story, each one from AP.

WASHINGTON EVENING STAR (U): Heavy coverage of Cleveland speech (text plus story by *Star*'s Haynes Johnson), gave *Star* second highest total of column inches — 185 — in entire sample. Other coverage was confined to short wire stories.

*J: Johnson. G: Goldwater. U: Unannounced. Pro-Johnson and pro-Goldwater papers listed are those whose editorial positions are clear, although they have not made endorsements.

How newspapers use columnists

Do newspapers print syndicated columnists to counterbalance or to support their own politics? Do conservative or liberal voices dominate? Here Ben H. Bagdikian offers answers based on a unique compilation, which, while embracing data collected in 1960, has not previously been analyzed. His article is the first published part of a study of the role of public-affairs columnists in America undertaken by Mr. Bagdikian for the Review. Costs of the study have been underwritten by the Dell Publishing Company Foundation.

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

The late Sevellon Brown of the *Providence Journal* refused to print syndicated columnists in his papers because, he said, "they have to Hippodrome to keep up with the competition." He felt that syndicated political writers were so hard-pressed to stay popular that they fell into sensationalism and carelessness, and that the newspapers buying them began to compete in titillation.

Today the *Providence Journal* carries Walter Lippmann and William Buckley, among others, symbolizing the trend in almost all metropolitan dailies to print collections of syndicated public-affairs columns.

In a country with a tradition of objectivity in reporting, there needs to be a place where complicated news can be analyzed and judgment passed. The obvious place for this work is the paper's own editorials. But since 96 per cent of American cities have monopoly newspaper managements, editorials are likely to give the serious reader in most communities only one point of view. Therefore, the syndicated column becomes the major instrument for providing the reader with a fair look at "the other side."

The need for counter-editorial views has increased since the New Deal, when the great majority of news-

papers became consistently pro-Republican. Since 1936, American newspapers have been overwhelmingly Republican in their editorial endorsements. In the first four postwar presidential elections, no more than 17 per cent of them ever supported a Democratic candidate in any one campaign. As daily-paper support of Republicans remained massive (at least, until 1964), as news became at once more urgent and more complex, as educational levels and concern with the news increased, so did the use of the political column. With it grew its role of counter-balancing a paper's editorials.

Apparently many editors believe in using columnists for this balancing function. In the September 1, 1964, *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, a symposium of sixteen editors of important dailies said they believed their papers presented a fair balance of opinion between liberal and conservative columnists. J. Edward Murray, managing editor of the *Arizona Republic*, said, for example: "We try to present an absolutely fair balance of opinion, both in the way of syndicated columnists and editorials from liberal newspapers to balance our own conservative view."

A study of which columnists appear in which newspapers shows that these editors cannot speak for the practices of the bulk of the American press, if, indeed, they describe accurately the practices of their own newspapers. There is no balance between

liberal and conservative columns in most papers, and even more rarely is there emphasis on columns opposing a paper's own point of view. Whatever reasons may have moved editors to select columnists in Sevellon Brown's day, one motive seems dominant today:

Most dailies pick a majority of columns that support their own editorials.

This study of dailies representing 85 per cent of the country's circulation showed:

¶ Among Republican-endorsing papers, there were four times as many (257) with a majority of conservative columns as there were with a majority of liberal ones.

¶ Among Democrat-endorsing papers there were somewhat fewer than twice as many (65) with a majority of liberal columns as there were with a majority of conservative ones.

¶ Only one paper in six has columnists balanced against its own opinions.

¶ Only one paper in five strikes a balance between liberal and conservative columns.

¶ Seven of ten papers with an imbalance of columnists are heavy on the conservative side.

¶ The common practice in balancing is for papers to use one or two columnists on "the other side" — and even more on the paper's own side.

Information on use of columnists is not easily obtained. Lists of papers in which columnists appear are closely guarded by syndicates, which usually announce only the number and total circulation of papers carrying a given writer.

The basis for this study is a 1959 compilation that is unique, so far as the author knows. In the period between September 15 and November 15, 1959, a commercial clipping service in Washington, Press Intelligence, Inc., studied for at least seven days every daily paper published in a community of 50,000 or more, and the leading paper in every congressional district. This involved 711 newspapers with 85 per cent of the nation's total daily circulation. The thousand or so papers not seen cannot be considered significant in exposure of syndicated columnists. Even among the 711, there were 112 papers, most of them small, that carried no columnists.

Press Intelligence clipped every syndicated writer appearing in the papers and published the raw result in its *Press Intelligence Directory* of 1960. The service did the same with political cartoonists, which were used in this study as a further check.

The columnists tabulated here are confined to syndicated public affairs writers with significant political content. The author is well aware of the problems of rating men and their writing politically.

Labels are vague. The terms "liberal" and "conservative" are laden with mystical mish-mash. But in this instance to avoid them was impossible.

Furthermore, there are other difficulties. Some columnists are liberal on one subject and conservative on another. Others have a clear political bent but so much of their output is nonpolitical that it diminishes their political intensity (e.g., Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson). Differences in style and polemics also make it difficult to place writers on a political scale: In these ratings, Eleanor Roosevelt was called the most liberal and opposite her, as most conservative, men like Westbrook Pegler and Fulton Lewis, Jr. Yet who will say that Mrs. Roosevelt was as far from the center or as insistent as the Pegler-Lewis group?

The rating method chosen was to ask a panel of editors to place columnists on a scale of ten, which was later translated into seven categories — three liberal, three conservative, one in the center. Panelists were asked to use as a guide a selected set of characteristics that dominated each columnist's work: Republican-Democratic; doctrinairely anti- or pro-public-sector spending; ultra-nationalist versus internationalist; authoritarian versus civil-libertarian. The editors did the ratings anonymously; the author takes responsibility for the classifications, although there was remarkable agreement among the panelists.*

Although the study deals only with columnists in circulation in late 1959, there is no reason to believe that there has been any fundamental columnar political evaluation, except for changes in names. Some, like George Sokolsky and Mrs. Roosevelt, have since died. Others, like Charles Bartlett, Evans and Novak, Barry Goldwater, and William Buckley, had not yet entered the field. The ratings were:

¶ *Very liberal*: Eleanor Roosevelt.

¶ *Liberal*: Walter Lippmann, Doris Fleeson, John Herling.

¶ *Mildly liberal*: Joseph Alsop, Marquis Childs, Robert Allen and Paul Scott, Drew Pearson, Ralph McGill. (McGill and Childs were rated close to the "liberal" category. Reclassifying them, however, would not significantly affect the findings.)

¶ *Mildly conservative*: Roscoe Drummond, Ray Tucker, Walter Winchell.

¶ *Conservative*: Ruth Montgomery, Walter Trohan, Constantine Brown, Raymond Moley, Robert Ruark,

*The ratings in this study were compared with an objective system devised by Eugene J. Webb of Northwestern University and described in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, Fall, 1962. The ratings showed general agreement.

Holmes Alexander, Victor Riesel, Bob Considine. ¶ *Very conservative*: George Sokolsky, David Lawrence, Westbrook Pegler, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Paul Harvey, Fulton Sheen, George Benson.

(This list does not include such columnists as wire-service analysts, whose employers discourage personal value judgments; the columnists of *The New York Times*, who were not then available to other papers; or, finally, those the panel placed in dead center at the time—the inclusion of which would not affect this analysis.

How did newspapers use these columnists? In the crudest terms, counting one use for an appearance in each paper, the groups were printed as follows:

	<i>Uses</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
VERY LIBERAL	27	1
LIBERAL	152	8
MILDLY LIBERAL	504	27
MILDLY CONSERVATIVE	273	15
CONSERVATIVE	370	20
VERY CONSERVATIVE	535	29

By a considerable margin, the largest single group was the "very conservative." But the total weight at the right end is made even clearer if the totals are broken into three parts: the "conservative-very conservative" group has 49 per cent of the appearances; the middle "mild" groups have 42 per cent; the "liberal-very liberal" group gets a mere 9 per cent.

But the aggregate figures show only that American newspapers like very conservative and mildly liberal columnists. The selection of columns in individual papers is more revealing. To determine whether papers had balance in columnists, the columnists appearing in each of the 599 using columnists were classified politically. A paper was considered balanced if it had equal numbers of liberals and conservatives, or any ratio up to and including 3:2. If the ratio were 2:1 or greater it was considered to be unbalanced.

Of the 599 papers using columnists:

¶ 335 (circulation: 24,643,000) had an imbalance favoring conservatives.

¶ 143 (circulation: 10,824,000) had an imbalance favoring liberals.

¶ 121 (circulation: 7,799,000) were balanced (with 78 carrying equal numbers of each type).

That the imbalance was heavy on the far end of the spectrum among conservative-favoring papers is shown in the breakdown of their column use:

	<i>Uses</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
VERY CONSERVATIVE	419	40
CONSERVATIVE	281	27
MILDLY CONSERVATIVE	193	18
VERY LIBERAL	1	•
LIBERAL	21	2
MILDLY LIBERAL	133	13

In short, a typical paper in this group probably car-

ried three conservative columns, including two very conservative ones, and perhaps (a 50-50 chance) a mildly liberal column.

The group of 143 papers with a liberal imbalance used columnists as follows:

	<i>Uses</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
VERY LIBERAL	19	5
LIBERAL	86	22
MILDLY LIBERAL	209	54
VERY CONSERVATIVE	27	7
CONSERVATIVE	21	5
MILDLY CONSERVATIVE	23	6

In this group, a typical paper probably carried two liberal columns and possibly (again, a 50-50 chance) a conservative column of some stripe.

Thus, in both groups, there was likely to be exposure in many papers of only one side; the analysis did not discover enough use of opposing columnists to make them go around. These papers showed similar use of syndicated cartoonists, which were also rated by the editors' panel. The conservative group used conservative cartoonists at a ratio of 6:1. The liberal group of newspapers used liberal cartoonists at a ratio of 3:1.

The smaller group (121) of balanced papers used columns more heavily, thus providing more diversity. But characteristically, even in these papers the mild liberals were balanced by those rated very conservative.

Although four fifths of the papers using columnists did not maintain even an approximate balance, there is still the possibility that some used their imbalance to counterbalance their editorials. To cast light on this question, the pattern of use was compared with the papers' politics, as shown in their presidential endorsements since 1936, compiled quadrennially by *Editor & Publisher*.

In the elections from 1948 through 1960, 75 per cent of all papers endorsed only Republican presidential candidates. Of the 711 in this study, 599 used political columns and 408 of these had at least four Republican endorsements since 1936.

What was the balance of columns in this group of 408 traditionally Republican papers? Nearly two thirds were supporting editorial policy with a conservative imbalance of columnists:

	<i>Number of papers</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
CONSERVATIVE	258	63
LIBERAL	63	16
BALANCED	87	21

Among the 122 papers that were predominantly Democratic in their endorsements, the pattern of use

of columnists was similar, though less emphatic:

	<i>Number of papers</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
LIBERAL	65	53
CONSERVATIVE	38	31
BALANCED	19	16

Thus, of 530 papers with patterns of party loyalty, 323 papers—61 per cent—were using columns that reinforced their own political positions. There were only 106 (20 per cent) with a balance of columnists. Only 101 (or 19 per cent) were using a majority of their columns to counterbalance their own editorials. Even this percentage should be reduced by the elimination of many Southern papers. In those states presidential endorsement has not been a reliable guide to ideology, because many papers were simultaneously Democratic and conservative, the reverse of the national pattern.

A comparison was made with the papers' use of columnists and local political climate, as reflected in the voting of the members of Congress from the papers' areas. The congressional districts were rated by whether their representatives voted more than half the time with the conservative coalition in the House of Representatives (as measured by the independent Congressional Quarterly Service).

By this measurement, 333 of the 599 papers carrying columns were published in "liberal" districts; 249 were published in "conservative" districts; 17 papers were in districts that were vacant or being redrawn during this period.

The 333 papers in liberal districts used columnists as follows:

	<i>Number of papers</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
CONSERVATIVE IMBALANCE	192	58
BALANCED	47	14
LIBERAL IMBALANCE	94	28

In the conservative districts, the 249 papers used columnists as follows:

	<i>Number of papers</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
CONSERVATIVE IMBALANCE	133	53
BALANCED	69	28
LIBERAL IMBALANCE	47	19

Curiously, as the tables show, a reader in a liberal district was likely to have a little harder time finding liberal or balanced use of columnists than a reader in a conservative district. The basic alignment, though, was similar in both kinds of districts. There seemed to be no strong link between a paper's use of syndicated opinion and the local political climate.

No reasonable man would ask for commentary mathematically matched with local opinion or precisely balanced against the opinions of the paper's own editorials. But the spectrum of political ideas, dealing in real, immediate problems, needs continu-

ing discussion. There is evidence here that an important mechanism to serve this function in the printed press is not working as it should. The heavy weight of printed political commentary on the conservative side, its domination of papers already conservative in their editorial direction, and the lack of any relationship to local political tendencies all warn that there is a serious alienation between the daily press's display of political ideas and the political processes of the country at large.

This withdrawn quality of the printed press when it deals in ideology may affect the selection of candidates, since men who run for office proposing policies that have not had public discussion carry an especially heavy burden. Even so, candidates can at least speak for themselves and prevail without the support of newspapers.

The chief loss in lopsided political commentary is in the use of ideas themselves in the evolution of public policy. On heated issues that are serious and contemporaneous—Medicare, fair employment practices, relations with China, for example—there is no healthy printed dialogue because only half of the mechanism exists in most places. There is more than sufficient variety in the total number of columnists available to papers, but the selections made by individual papers seem to show little desire or understanding of the need for discussion. There is no "gag" of the liberal side; but there is, at least in terms of quantity of outlets, a mere murmur from one side.

It is hard to reconcile the findings of this study with the claim by Republican conservatives that the press has been hostile to conservative ideas. It seems possible that such conservatives are the spoiled children of the mass media. They have been indulged by unswerving editorial sympathy for thirty years. They get sympathetic political commentary in a majority of columns with the bulk of the circulation.

In the long run, this has been no favor to the Republican party or conservatism in general. It has removed the discipline of hostile examination, which the Democrats have used to bolster party unity and to discover their own weaknesses.

This situation has resulted in curious behavior: the Democrats seem to be pleased if some columnists are on their side; Republicans, indignant if not all of them are.

For readers in the few cities with competing and/or cosmopolitan papers the bitterness of conservatives at press commentary in 1964 may be puzzling, for in these cities the hurly-burly of more-or-less equal time in columnar politics is the norm.

But once one looks at many of the monopoly-town papers, he begins to see that the normal diet there

Balance and imbalance

Below are listed some of the papers that were found in Mr. Bagdikian's analysis to have significant patterns in the use of syndicated columnists as of the date they were examined

1. Papers with balance in use of columnists:

The Atlanta Constitution
Boston Record (now Record-American)
Buffalo Evening News
Cleveland Press
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Miami Herald
Minneapolis Evening Star
Newark Star-Ledger
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
The Washington Post

2. Papers with strong pattern of Republican presidential endorsements and imbalance of columnists on the conservative side:

	Conservative columns	Liberal columns
Albany Times-Union	5	2
Augusta (Georgia) Chronicle	6	1
Bangor News	4	1
Boise Statesman	4	1
Burlington (Vermont) News	4	0
Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch	4	1
Huntington (West Virginia) Herald-Dispatch	5	0
New Bedford Standard-Times	5	0
New York Journal-American	4	0
Omaha World-Herald	4	0
(Phoenix) Arizona Republic	5	0
St. Louis Globe-Democrat	7	0
San Diego Union	8	3
South Bend Tribune	6	0

3. Papers with a strong pattern of Democratic presidential endorsements and imbalance of columnists on the liberal side.

	Conservative columns	Liberal columns
Dayton News	0	4
Davenport Democrat	0	3
Lawton Constitution	1	5
Madison Capital-Times	0	6
Miami News	1	4
Nashville Tennessean	1	6
Raleigh News and Observer	0	5
Tuscaloosa News	0	4

4. Papers with a substantial imbalance of columnists against their own editorial positions:

	Conservative columns	Liberal columns
Akron Beacon-Journal (R)	0	3
Charlotte News (R)	0	5
Denver Post (R)	1	4
Long Island Press (D)	4	1
Newark Evening News (R)	0	3
Philadelphia Bulletin (R)	1	3
Portland Oregonian (R)	1	4
Springfield (Massachusetts) News (D)	4	1
Terre Haute Tribune (D)	2	0
Watertown (New York) Times (R)	1	4

NOTE: In a few cases (e.g., Madison Capital Times) monopoly owners have maintained papers of opposing political views.

is conservative. Political leaders in such communities may have come to expect the conservative imbalance to be the national norm. It may have some significance that Arizona's dominant newspapers are the conservative Pulliam dailies in Phoenix, which have long expressed the political standards to which Senator Goldwater attuned his 1964 campaign. It is the senator's supporters who have been most bitter about the columnists who have criticized him.

Political columnists do not win supporters for their ideas and points of view in the way a candidate collects votes in an election. Instead, they lend respectability and familiarity to items in the national dialogue. They influence the national political leader-

ship, not by presenting new and brilliant ideas, but by forcing the leadership to face public concern with issues that the columnist has selected. Serious readers tend to focus on reality as their columnists focus on it. If most of the columns persistently create one view of reality, few national leaders will be able to operate very far outside that view.

The daily press is a constant champion of the principle of the open marketplace of ideas, and it is more or less free in reporting those ideas that are borne on the flow of major news. But when it comes to printed opinion, there is evidence here that the proprietors of the printed marketplace are presenting mostly those goods the proprietors themselves prefer.

A week's news: Atlantic City

The week of news selected by the *Review* for sampling in the third quarter of 1964 was August 24-30—the week of the Democratic National Convention and, as it turned out, a hurricane, a riot and an upheaval in Viet Nam. But no other news events could long distract attention from Atlantic City, possibly because that is where the journalists were.

They were there in force, outnumbering the delegates even more than they did in San Francisco, where the margin was about two to one. The result, judging from the dominant note of later comment, was over-coverage of the convention to the point of suffocation. Viewers in cities with enough television channels to offer a choice, not an echo, chose non-political entertainment to a degree that alarmed the networks. In other cities, many turned off the sets.

Alfred Friendly, managing editor of *The Washington Post*, suggested the pertinence of an idea that J. Bronowski, a British scientist, once expounded: that an observer could spend his life recording phenomena with exactitude and still, in the end, produce nothing that made sense.

"Television's problem at this convention," Mr. Friendly wrote in the *Post*, "has been a plethora of coverage and a fatal addiction to speed . . . If it takes a responsible newsmen ten minutes, an hour, a day or a week to find out what really happened, how can the television reporter know instantly what this scuffle or that argument, this shouting or that pushing, really is? Yet he must say, and at once."

As soon as the convention season ended, there was a multitude of proposals for curtailing the convention or its coverage—for example, foisting the proceedings on one or two networks at a time, leaving

the other one free to broadcast entertainment. The situation thereby created would resemble that described in a column by Art Buchwald, titled "Fail-Safe." It described the brief crisis when CBS accidentally put on an old "I Love Lucy." NBC threatened an Elizabeth Taylor movie as a counterstrike; ABC readied its "doomsday machine"—"The Untouchables."

Television and radio were not the only sufferers from plethora. The *Review's* newspaper sample had pages and pages swamped with minutiae. Many papers in the sample seized on the fight over seating the Mississippi and Alabama delegations and gave it their biggest play of the convention, for lack of harder news. Other papers became restless, and turned in mid-convention to the hurricane or to local disasters.

Still, the convention got by far the biggest total page-one display of the week in every paper in the sample, as well as in the three major news magazines. (The chart on the pages following gives details.) It is hard to quarrel with this attention. A convention is the second biggest event of the country's political life. Be it bloody or boring, it must be recorded.

The week also brought, only one night after the Democratic convention disbanded, the summer's last of a series of major disorders in Negro sections of northern cities. This was the two-night riot in North Philadelphia. It offered one more chance to check whether there were strong regional differences in handling the news.

It was impossible to determine a clear-cut answer, partly because the sample does not include a great number of papers in each region. Still, there was enough to show that northern papers were not burying such stories—nor were Southern papers. In terms of front-page display, the papers giving the greatest attention were: *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *New York Journal-American*, the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, the *New York World Telegram & Sun*, the *Cleveland Press*, and the *Arkansas Gazette*.

The week in the U.S. press

EXPLANATORY NOTE: Chart below lists (1) circulation of newspaper or magazine; (2) three leading stories for the week. Because all publications in the sample gave greatest page-one display to

the Democratic convention, the chart lists only the aspect that each gave the greatest emphasis. Network evening news schedules were abnormal during the week, and were not monitored.

NEWSWEEK (September 7, 1964, for August 24-30)
Cover: Humphrey Viet Nam Tokyo & Olympics

Coverage of convention totaled more than 13 pages.

TIME (September 4, 1964, for week of August 24-30)
Cover: Johnson-Humphrey Viet Nam Congo

Convention coverage totaled 17 pages.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT (September 7, 1964, for August 23-29)
Cover: Johnson Viet Nam Business outlook

Convention coverage totaled 26 pages and included reprints of platform and speeches.

Morning papers (August 24-30, 1964)

CHICAGO TRIBUNE (834,000) Credentials Viet Nam Cleo	Tribune correspondents found more dissension and discomfort at Atlantic City than other reporters.
LOS ANGELES TIMES (812,000) Nominations Viet Nam Cleo	Democrats led paper five days; Saigon and Philadelphia riots dominated the week end.
THE NEW YORK TIMES (703,000) Nominations Viet Nam Cyprus	Democratic politics dominated page one less than in other morning papers, leaving room for broader coverage.
THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER (549,000) Credentials Riots Cleo	Democrats dominated the week, but biggest single story was local riots, which took all of Sunday's page one.
DETROIT FREE PRESS (513,000) Not published.	Free Press (and other Detroit paper, the News) had been closed in strike since July 13.
RECORD AMERICAN, Boston (433,000) Platform Viet Nam Cleo	Tabloid's news-display pages carried a multitude of one-time stories, never followed up.
SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE (340,000) Nominations Viet Nam Riots	A rather somber week for a paper sometime given to stunting.
ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT (293,000) Credentials Cleo Viet Nam	Tightly organized front page, displaying five to seven news stories of serious interest each day.
SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER (289,000) Nominations Viet Nam Meg shipwreck	Democrats dominated page one every day but Saturday; other stories were given random treatment.
THE HOUSTON POST (228,000) Nominations Epidemic Cleo	Local outbreak of encephalitis outweighed the convention on Tuesday and was on page one every other day.
THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL, Memphis (223,000) Credentials Viet Nam Cleo	Well-proportioned front page, using four to six stories a day. Used a Viet Nam story every day.

MINNEAPOLIS MORNING TRIBUNE (222,000)			
Nominations	Viet Nam	Farmers' strike	Humphrey's home-state paper gave heaviest coverage to convention on page one.
THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR (220,000)			
Nominations	Viet Nam	Body discovered	Body story (local) was printed on Sunday, eclipsing the Philadelphia riots.
ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS, Denver (191,000)			
Humphrey	Beatles	State fair	Britishers made local appearance. Fair story was about a special train sponsored by the News.
BUFFALO COURIER-EXPRESS (161,000)			
Nominations	Robert Kennedy	Viet Nam	Considerable attention to New York State politics and to Buffaloans at Atlantic City.
RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH (148,000)			
Credentials	Cleo	Viet Nam	With Raleigh paper, gave heaviest page-one coverage among morning papers to the hurricane.
THE NEWS AND OBSERVER, Raleigh (124,000)			
Nominations	Cleo	KKK series	See Richmond comment. Articles exposing Klan ran on page one first three days of week.
ARKANSAS GAZETTE, Little Rock (100,000)			
Nominations	Viet Nam	Goldwater	Consistent coverage to a very few stories on page one.

Evening papers (August 24-29, and Sunday editions)

NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN (557,000)			
Humphrey	Riots	Cleo	Gave heaviest coverage among afternoon papers to Philadelphia disorders.
CHICAGO DAILY NEWS (506,000)			
Humphrey	Riots	Viet Nam	Like many other afternoons, found LBJ-Humphrey meeting timed just right.
NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN (413,000)			
Platform	Beatles	Riots	After Monday, gave minimal page-one space to convention. Beatles appeared on two days.
THE CLEVELAND PRESS (358,000)			
Credentials	Cleo	Goldwater	Gave least page-one space in sample to convention, partly because of senator's Cleveland appearance.
THE KANSAS CITY STAR (345,000)			
Credentials	Cleo	Viet Nam	Kept attention focused on convention longer than many other afternoon papers.
THE EVENING STAR, Washington (294,000)			
Humphrey	Viet Nam	Cleo	More persistent attention to Southeast Asia than any other afternoon paper.
OAKLAND TRIBUNE (207,000)			
Nominations	Riots	Viet Nam	Atlantic City stories by the publisher-editor, William F. Knowland, gave Tribune big convention lineage.
NEW ORLEANS STATES-ITEM (167,000)			
Credentials	Cleo	Satellite	Paper gave Nimbus picture-taking satellite big display on Friday.
OREGON JOURNAL (137,000)			
Humphrey	Viet Nam	Warehouse fire	An assortment of legitimate news, presented in little pieces.
THE FLINT JOURNAL (104,000)			
Nominations	Cleo	Viet Nam	Well-ordered pages, following up major stories persistently from day to day.
THE YOUNGSTOWN VINDICATOR (102,000)			
Not distributed			Paper continued to publish in strike that began August 18, but could not mail to subscribers.
ANCHORAGE DAILY TIMES (13,000)			
Credentials	Earthquake relief	Cleo	Alaska's largest paper is still carrying stories on recovery from disaster of last March.

Explaining San Francisco

In a sense, reading a news magazine might be compared to shooting a rifle. One must correct for windage. Or, to put it another way, the reader, to be on-target, must recognize and allow for the differences that influence each news magazine's interpretation of news.

To detect and gauge the extent of bias — or, more gently, point of view — is seldom easy. It is often expressed subtly, by an adjective, a degree of emphasis, or a turn of phrase. But in their coverage of this summer's Republican National Convention, the major news magazines — *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* — provided their readers with more than the usual number of clues. A reading of the two issues each magazine devoted to convention coverage, shows that no two news weeklies viewed the convention developments with quite the same degree of enthusiasm.

The most obvious difference in coverage was perhaps the least significant: *U.S. News* gave more space to Republican politics than did *Time* and *Newsweek* combined. Its issues dated July 20 and 27 carried a total of 58 pages of text and pictures directly related to convention developments, plus gaudy cover lines ("How Republicans Plan to Win" and "Goldwater — Next President?") calling attention to articles featured on the inside pages. By comparison, *Time* summed up the fortnight's Republican political news in slightly more than 20 pages; *Newsweek* in a little more than 30.

This disparity can be largely discounted. *U.S. News* has a flexible format that allows it to concentrate on major stories; it also has tended increasingly to pay less attention to the week's news and to produce longer articles on current events. Even a casual reader of all three news magazines, however, could not help noticing differences in tone and emphasis.

U.S. News, for example, published the full 11,000-word text of the Republican platform ("What Republicans Offer"), and elsewhere in the same issue summed up the platform's major points. It did the same, later, with the Democratic platform.

Time carried only a summary, less than a page in length, under the head "What the Platform Says."

Newsweek, in a story that ran slightly more than a page, printed excerpts from the platform, but followed each quoted excerpt with an explanation of how it differed from the comparable section of the party's 1960 platform (which *Newsweek* described as "a moderate, more specific document").

Treatment of Senator Goldwater's acceptance speech also varied. *U.S. News*, in its July 27 issue, devoted five pages to the full text, under the heading "Goldwater's Opening Gun: 'Victory Will Be Ours'."

Time ran a modest-size box of excerpts from the speech ("The Candidate's Creed"). Its lead story, however, dismissed the speech in two paragraphs, and gave a greater amount of space to the stir created by the senator's statement that "extremism in defense of liberty is no vice . . . [and] . . . moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." *Time* said: "In the abstract, the lines are unimpeachable; in the context that Goldwater used them, they were questionable."

Newsweek carried neither the full text nor boxed excerpts, but quoted from the speech in a sharply critical lead story, which noted that "... even in its fieriest passages, [it] . . . lacked a single mention of the nation's most pressing domestic business, the civil-rights revolt." In another story, *Newsweek* reported the flurry of controversy over the "extremism" statement — a development that *U.S. News* dismissed in a single sentence.

As could be expected, all three news magazines dealt in detail with Senator Goldwater's background and personal characteristics — but here again, the approaches differed. *U.S. News* ran a friendly five-page profile of the candidate ("Who Barry Goldwater Is"), which along with three other articles in the same issue, carried the slug: "Next President?"

"One thing that angers his friends," *U.S. News* observed, "is any report that Barry Goldwater is 'impulsive,' or 'short tempered' or 'moody' . . . The word that crops up most when 'Arizona friends speak of Barry Goldwater is 'warm'."

Time's major takeout on Goldwater, a cover story in its second issue on the convention, was shorter and less warmly worded than the *U.S. News* account. It contained nothing that seemed likely to anger Goldwater supporters, but elsewhere in the issue, *Time* touched obliquely on a sensitive point when it said: "Even his quick-draw, shoot-from-the-hip tendency has its defenders."

Newsweek, which ran no profile of Goldwater in the two issues under consideration (it had reviewed his background at length in earlier stories), said more pointedly: "... Goldwater remains an erratic,

hip-shooting campaigner, capable of calling Mr. Johnson (as he did in San Francisco) a 'faker'—and announcing loftily eleven hours later that he would not engage in personalities. His staffers know he can be his own worst enemy; they plan to cut down his personal appearances and press conferences, will make heavy use of TV talks in packaged studio settings . . ."

In discussing the Vice Presidential nominee, William E. Miller, all three magazines agreed that he was a sharp-tongued campaigner who would give the Democrats trouble. But only *U.S. News*, which reviewed his record in a story titled "Barry's Choice: A 'Fighting' Running Mate," was entirely uncritical.

Time described Miller as a "tireless, effective party organizer," but concluded that "some voters might wonder if a gift for vitriol is a sufficient qualification for Vice President."

Newsweek was less complimentary. It said: "Only his barbed partisan tongue could overcome Miller's liabilities as a candidate for national office."

When it came to characterizing Goldwater's supporters, both *Time* and *Newsweek* found themselves close to agreement with *U.S. News*, which reported that "the Convention delegates and a great majority of the spectators in the galleries appeared to be a cross section of America." *Time's* story ("Who Are the Goldwaterites?") began:

"They [the great majority of Goldwater's followers] wear tennis shoes only on tennis courts. They don't read Robert Welch or hate Negroes. They aren't nuclear-bomb throwers, and they don't write obscene letters to editors who disagree with them. They are reasonably well educated and informed. They are, in fact, nuts about Barry Goldwater without being nutty in the process . . ."

And *Newsweek* said: "Little old ladies in tennis shoes? Hardly. The vast majority were earnest, well dressed, solidly respectable."

But neither *Time* nor *Newsweek* appeared as enthusiastic about the Goldwater victory as *U.S. News*, which summed it up by saying: "In the words of Michigan's Governor George Romney, the Republican Convention of 1964 marked 'the rebirth of Americanism in America.'"

Time, in fact, seemed saddened by the defeat of William Scranton, the candidate endorsed by its sister publication, *Life*. In its convention post-mortems, *Time's* kindest words were for Scranton, of whom it said:

"William Scranton, even in his losing, sometimes amateurish campaign, was an articulate candidate, appeared gracious and gallant in his final acceptance of defeat . . ."

Looking ahead to the national campaign, the news magazines sized it up in words that perhaps revealed as much about the magazines' own positions as they did about the positions of the candidates.

U.S. News, in its weekly "Newsgram," put its conclusions this way:

"Johnson vs. Goldwater will offer voters a clear-cut choice in November.

"*The choice*: 'liberal' vs. 'conservative'; bigger spending vs. smaller; more federal dabbling in local affairs vs. less; steadily expanding Government vs. some cutback in Government; a 'deal' with Russia vs. firmness toward Russia . . ."

Time also saw the choice as clear-cut, but viewed the alternatives somewhat differently, as indicated by this paragraph in its story on Goldwater's nomination:

"In Goldwater, the Republican Party's conservatives have the choice that they have been demanding for a generation. With Lyndon Johnson straddling the middle road, Barry was in fact about the only leading Republican capable of offering such a choice. And his acceptance speech, vintage Goldwater in its demand for domestic conservatism and a firm foreign policy, indicated that this year the choice would be quite clear-cut."

Newsweek, in a story titled "A Choice — Not an Echo," took still another view of the campaign. It referred to the "white backlash" (a term that *U.S. News* did not use in either of its two convention issues) as "the sleeper in the Goldwater strategy of probing all the vague discontents that go by the name of 'big government' at home and a 'no-win policy' abroad." Suggesting that the "ugly potential of the white backlash" could make Goldwater a winner — though the odds were against him — *Newsweek* concluded:

"That, for Republican moderates as well as for Democrats, was thinking the unthinkable. For the worriers, the consolation was the belief that Barry couldn't win — and the dark doubt was that he might."

These and other differences in coverage — some substantial and some more subtle — pointed to an obvious conclusion. Of the three major news magazines, *U.S. News & World Report* was the most sympathetic to Senator Goldwater — and the only one to take his statements and Republican platform promises at face value. *Newsweek* was the most critical of the three. And *Time* was between, apparently torn between sympathies for the party and nagging doubts about the candidate.

JOHN LUTER

Fall, 1964 29

Survey sample: men's magazines

On these pages are considerations of four magazines, all claiming to speak to the American Man. It is perhaps not generally recognized, but American Man is becoming better educated, with wider interests than ever before. No longer is it said, "Man's place is in the office." Men are increasingly participating in community affairs, taking an interest in art and literature, keeping up with current events. Truly, this can be called the era of the emancipation of American Man.

When this new man feels like a binge with a man's magazine, what does he find addressed to him? *Argosy*, as of old, sees him as a hunter and adventurer. *True*, once the purest of adventure magazines, now sees him encumbered with job and family. *Playboy* seems to visualize a daydreamer locked for life in a men's dormitory; *Esquire*, a beatnik disguised in tweed.

Except for *Argosy*, the men's magazines can no longer rely purely on the primal urges that served so well when men were expected to be strong and silent. Even *Argosy* softens its male atmosphere in the September issue with pleasant, romantic photographs of boys and girls on the Riviera beaches. *True* plays down its adventure in favor of articles that could just as well appear in, say, *Redbook*. *Playboy*, while hardly retreating from sex, has other substantial ingredients.

Still, it is clear that the magazines' editors believe that there are men who cling to the old days. There is a glorious antique quality to *True's* "fact mystery" — "The Bludgeoner in the Boudoir." And what would *Argosy* be without a lead article called "There's a Million Waiting on Devil's Mountain"? There are *Playboy's* musty "party jokes," directly descended from the college-humor magazines.

It must be concluded that American Man, despite his improved condition, is still divided against himself. Even as he reads such enlightening articles as *True's* profile of a labor leader and *Playboy's* dead-serious interview with Henry Miller, he must occasionally be drawn back to the old, irresponsible days when he had to consider nothing more serious than the charge of an infuriated rhino across the veldt.

JAMES BOYLAN



ARGOSY, Volume 359, Number 3 (founded 1882)

Editor: Henry Steeger

Publisher: Popular Publications, New York

Circulation: 1,262,000

PETE KUHLOFF'S GUIDE TO THE NEW 1965 GUNS

BOOK BONUS: A PROMISE OF DIAMONDS by Gordon Ashe

ALONE ACROSS THE SAHARA by Jorgen Bisch

THERE'S A MILLION WAITING ON DEVIL'S MOUNTAIN by Joe Brown

Ancient *Argosy*, descended from one of Frank Munsey's rickety publications, is now in an incarnation born late in World War II, the child of the present editor. This September issue, like so many of its predecessors, is redolent of man's-man pleasures — dozens of guns, bloody air races in the 1930's, an insurance-investigator mystery, and a reconstruction of a nighttime battle in World War II.

Possibly the most pervasive weakness in the issue is the mismatching of illustration and editorial material. The "devil's mountain" article — the tale of a stunt flier and lost treasure — refers to photographs that the author thought would be published with the article — but were not. "Alone Across the Sahara" uses photographs from another trip made when the French controlled Algeria. A short story about two archaeologists who find Lot's wife has a cute illustration that matches not at all the description in the story. And, finally, the World War II story describes a complicated infiltration that cries out for a map — and there is none.

By comparison with the other magazines in this group, *Argosy* seems a home-made and old-fashioned piece of construction, serviceable but rough.



PLAYBOY, Volume 11, Number 9 (founded 1953)
 Editor and publisher: Hugh M. Hefner
 Circulation: 1,965,000
 THE PIOUS PORNOGRAPHERS REVISITED — article by William Iversen
 THE PLAYBOY PHILOSOPHY (Part 18) — editorial by Hugh M. Hefner
 THE NUDEST PETER SELLERS AND THE NUDEST ELKE SOMMER — pictorial
 PLAYBOY'S PIGSKIN PREVIEW — sports by Anson Mount

One scans *Playboy* for clues to its phenomenal growth. What does the September issue show that can account for its rise from nothing to 2,000,000 in a decade? Is it the atmospherics of the great world of the *Playboy* clubs — the numerous plugs for *Playboy* books, jewelry, garments, glassware; the breathless account of the purchase of a new *Playboy* establishment in previously unscarred Jamaica; the invitation to join a *Playboy* club? Is it the fiction — in this issue, a series of slight sketches by a known author and two longer stories distinguished by wheezy plot construction? Is it the new installment of the founder's essay on law and morals? The numerous girls who shed at the approach of the photographer? The humor, relying on one joke over and over? All these have been tried by others without catching up.

The secret would seem to lie in execution, plus those portions of the magazine that could be said to give it "class": an interview with Henry Miller; one of Jean Shepherd's boyhood rambles; well-written short reviews of records, films, plays, books; and other touches of literacy and quality.

Possibly this is it — the gilt edge on otherwise routine, even pulpy ingredients.



TRUE, THE MAN'S MAGAZINE, Volume 45, Number 328 (founded 1936)
 Editor: Douglas S. Kennedy
 Publisher: Fawcett Publications, New York
 Circulation: 2,409,000
 BONUS BOOK CONDENSATION: THE BAY OF PIGS by Haynes Johnson
 CHAMPAGNE TONY LEMA by Bill Libby
 FACT MYSTERY: THE BLUDGEONER IN THE BOUDOIR by Alan Hynd

True is observing few taboos these days. One would think that the most potent would be the one expressed in its name. But in August, *True* ran a condensation of a piece of fiction — *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*. This is characteristic of the magazine that was always the leader in the now-fading adventure field. It is now too general a magazine to be called just an adventure magazine. Only by a stretch of the imagination is Haynes Johnson's account of the 1961 Cuban disaster an adventure; rather, it is high politics. The Vance Packard excerpt (also from a book) speaks to the reader as an employee-to-be, not as an escapist. Still more iconoclastically, the September issue contains an article on marriage counselors. Next, will there be an article on parenthood?

Only isolated monuments remain here to the old days. "The Bludgeoner in the Boudoir" is a standard rewrite from clips of New York City's Lonergan case of the 1940's. The "true adventures" tell of wrecked fliers on a cold island off Greenland, and of a Kansas small-town mayor who preserved the buffalo.

But how long can these vestiges remain? They are losing their hold in *True*.

The non-editing of Esquire

By PENN T. KIMBALL

Magazines must be attuned to their times. The knack of translating that generality into the pages of an actual publication is not easy to identify.

Esquire — "The Magazine For Men" — is an example of the delicate skills required in editing a going magazine through the vicissitudes of a changing economic and cultural climate.

The failure of *Collier's* and *Coronet* in recent years and the sometimes frantic search for the old magic by the *Saturday Evening Post* have generated gloom about the prospects of magazines generally. This sort of talk overlooks such comparatively recent success stories as *Look*, *U.S. News & World Report*, or *Saturday Review*. Nor does it take into account the editing skills which put renewed life into *McCall's*, *Scientific American*, and *Harper's*.

Esquire was born as a fashion magazine for men during the Depression — an unlikely time for its runaway success. Its twentieth anniversary, in 1953, coincided, on the one hand, with television's growing competition with other mass media and, on the other, with the dummies for a new magazine about to be offered to the postwar male audience: *Playboy*.

Ironically, a publisher's note in *Esquire's* anniversary issue observed: "Magazines do have a way of wearing out. Like people they are prone to such afflictions as growing old or growing stale or just plain getting tired."

"Esky," the cornball nickname coined by its customers of the Thirties, featured as its trademark a little, pop-eyed man of the same name who appeared on most of its covers. Esky had the look of a middle-aged dandy with a slightly lecherous leer. The contents of the magazine — full-page cartoons set in a Turkish harem, stories about "The International White Slave Traffic" — were appropriate to that image. Readers could match the headlines on the

articles with the racy cartoons on the facing page and often discover, with a naughty giggle, a double entendre.

The carefully prescribed limits of the magazine's daring, however, were illustrated by the photographs accompanying an article, "Backstage with the most Beautiful Nude in Paris." The subject, except for one distant out-of-focus shot, was fully clothed. "Esquire's Fair Lady," a monthly feature, might go so far as a one-piece bathing suit or black-net stockings. But when *Playboy's* naked sex goddesses hit the newsstand in the real-life climate of the 1950's, they made *Esquire's* art seem as daring as a Victorian tintype.

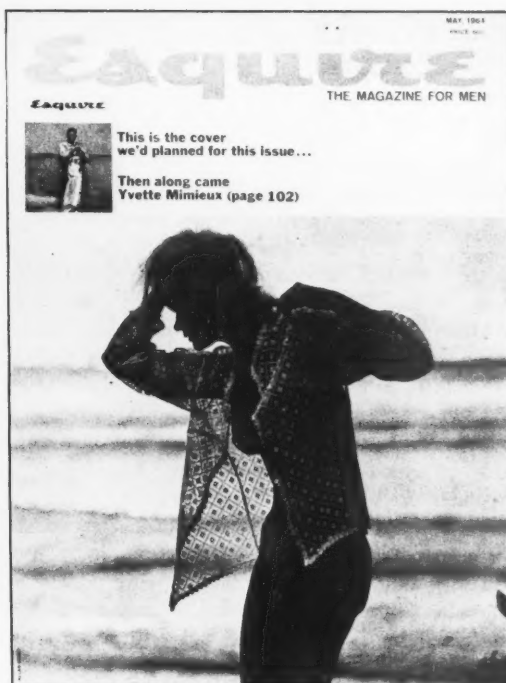
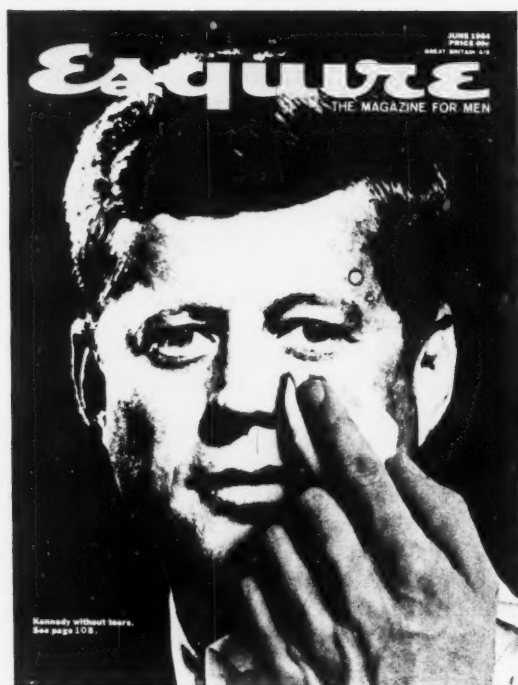
The impression, as is the case with magazines, was even stronger than the facts. The "image" of magazines along Madison Avenue is frequently unrelated to current content. But as *Esquire's* circulation sagged while *Playboy's* soared, the word went out that Esky was "in trouble." The editorial shakeup began.

Apparently faced with the alternatives of attempting to out-playboy *Playboy* or trying to ride out the storm with the old recipes, *Esquire* chose to do neither. It began buying articles on topical subjects by first-rate writers. Its cartoons began using the needle instead of the slapstick. Serious fiction was substituted for the romantic fudge characteristic of most general magazines of the day. In an age of well-packaged formulas, *Esquire* went unpredictable.

Esquire appeared to have embarked on the risky experiment of turning over its audience — transforming its appeal without simultaneously antagonizing the loyalists among its old 800,000 readers. Because the approach was not condescending to popular taste, because it violated so many clichés of hack magazine journalism, because it constituted a bet that editorial vitality is the key to advertising health, the "new" *Esquire* is watched by other magazine hands with more than a touch of interest — and sentiment.

Arnold Gingrich, present publisher and one of the magazine's founders, has said that "analyzing the content of a living magazine is somewhat like the sport in which university professors indulge for the amusement of the press when they analyze the physical make-up of a living person's body. The list of ingredients is simple, but putting them all together in the indicated proportions is not enough to create a new life. A certain spark will be missing. Nobody knows what it is. Nobody can tell how it can be captured. It can only be recognized, not duplicated."

In recent months *Esquire's* content has included such diverse fare as Lee Oswald's letters to his mother, a medical report on President Johnson's heart condition, the autobiography of Evelyn Waugh,



Two recent Esquire covers, one seriously controversial, the other flippantly recalling the old days of "Esky"

starlet Yvette Mimieux in a Bikini, the memoirs of a World War I flying ace, a takeoff on *Mad* magazine, and profiles of six successful college dropouts (including the Dodger left-hander, Sandy Koufax, and comedian Woody Allen).

Contributors have ranged from *The New York Times's* Washington bureau chief, Tom Wicker, to William Burroughs (*Naked Lunch*), one of the farthest out of contemporary writers.

Rebecca West recently was the author of a superb account on the Stephen Ward-Profumo affair in Britain. ("The crowds round the courts were uncommonly nasty. The witnesses had to walk through a vast leer, a huge concupiscent exposure of cheap dentures. . . . Every afternoon Christine Keeler was led out by the police and put in her car. . . . The cries and boos of the crowd expressed the purest envy.")

The Humphrey Bogart cult was penetratingly analyzed by Peter Bogdanovich. ("Bogart is the man with a past. When he comes into a film, it is already 'the morning after'; sardonically victorious in his macabre combat . . . his face scarred by what he has seen and his step heavy from all he has learned.")

Esquire was the first to publish Richard Rovere's account of the American Establishment. It was followed up by a whole series on sub-Establishments — as well as John Kenneth Galbraith's satiric essays written under the pseudonym, Mark Epernay.

A policy of letting writers say what they wanted to say has set off *Esquire* from the frightened-rabbit school of magazine journalism. Joseph Kraft, for example, on President Eisenhower's press secretary, James Hagerty: "The point is not only that Hagerty drinks too much ('We all do', he says), but that he is what one kindly critic in the Washington press corps calls 'not exactly a student of public affairs.'"

Gore Vidal, on Bobby Kennedy: "It will take a public-relations genius to make him appear lovable. He is not. His obvious characteristics are energy, vindictiveness, and a simplemindedness about human motives which may yet bring him down . . . He has none of his brother's human ease; or charity."

Esquire covers, designed by George Lois, an ex-advertising agency art director, have been equally controversial. Last Christmas, *Esquire* punctured the saccharine commercialism of the season by giv-

SURVEY

ing over its entire cover to the sullen, black face of the heavyweight champion Sonny Liston, brooding under a red-and-ermine Santa Claus cap. Last spring, at the height of the canonization of President Kennedy, *Esquire* ran an article headed: "Kennedy Without Tears — while it is still possible — before reality fades into myth and the monuments obscure the man — let us make a last effort to see him as he was."

The cover was a sepia photograph of Mr. Kennedy on which a superimposed hand wiped away a crocodile-sized teardrop. The *New York Herald Tribune* asked: "Has *Esquire* magazine leaped off the bridge of good taste?"

These and other brash breaks with prevailing mores have opened the magazine to charges of cheap sensationalism as well as bad taste. In response to another *Esquire* feature the *Geneva County Reaper* of Geneva, Alabama, commented as follows:

"When the editors of *Esquire*, the Magazine for Men, published its Third Annual Dubious Achievement Awards for 1963, one signal accomplishment in that category was spectacularly omitted. That was the publication of the magazine itself."

According to Gingrich, "Taste, like a sense of humor, is the one thing nobody will admit he hasn't got, even when he's in the act of proving it." After looking through the dummy of the August, 1964, issue, he informed readers that "we find our own reactions to its various features ringing all the way from near ecstasy to near nausea, with intermediate stages of both acute boredom and active dislike."

There is nothing neutral, at least, in these reactions, and the editors of *Esquire* prefer readers to be challenged rather than contented. The magazine is nothing if not impertinent. If the Cool World of the Sixties can be characterized by hip/beat iconoclasm, then *Esquire* seems determined to stay out of Squaresville.

The quest has caused it to embark on such experiments as having Norman Mailer write a novel — *An American Dream* — chapter by chapter on a monthly deadline. Some idea of the strain on both editors and readers can be gleaned from this partial summary of what happened in the early installments:

"Stephen Richards Rojack, ex-war hero, ex-congressman (New York), now employed as a professor of psychology at a university in New York has mur-

dered his wife, Deborah . . . The murder produced in Rojack an almost euphoric sense of freedom and release. In this state he made love to the maid, Ruta, returned to his wife's bedroom and dropped her body from the tenth-story window . . ."

How far *Esquire* cartoons have progressed from Turkish harems and hillbilly jokes is illustrated by a recent picturing of two members of the audience sitting in their togas watching tragedy being played in an ancient Greek amphitheatre. Remarks one: "Do you know what I think? I think all of the contemporary authors are sick!"

Besides Mailer, *Esquire's* literary taste has run to the earthy but complex fiction of Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, Edward Albee, James Jones, and Jakov Lind. The magazine's tradition as a vehicle for modern writers goes back to its first issues, when Ernest Hemingway was a regular contributor. The ghost of Scott Fitzgerald is regularly exhumed and Malcolm Cowley writes nostalgic pieces about the Lost Generation and the Era of Protest. The Writer is addressed with a capital "W" at all times at *Esquire*, where the office motto is that the best editor is one who edits least.

The editing function is interpreted chiefly as marrying good ideas to the right writers and letting the chips fall where they may. Harold Hayes, the magazine's bright 38-year-old editor, describes this as the "cliff-hanging" school of journalism. This is an attractive approach for authors who have suffered through the rewrite mills in some of the slicks. *Esquire* rarely goes beyond \$1,000 for its stories, but its stable of regular free-lancers are happy to work at those prices without the threat of an editor's pencil.

Malcolm Muggeridge, former editor of *Punch* who now writes *Esquire's* regular column on books, recently outlined the challenge to modern-day magazine journalism as closing the gap between what journalists write and what is actually being said and thought. Gingrich years ago set forth this creed for *Esquire*: "The magazine is, as its name implies, not for children. It is dedicated to the literate, if not the literary, and to the intelligent, if not the intellectual . . . its conception of the true and ideal American way of life lies in every man's right to misspend his life as and if he sees fit."

Esquire recently raised its newsstand price to 75 cents and as of January 1 will guarantee advertisers a circulation of 900,000 — almost double its prewar circulation. How firm an answer these figures are to the questions raised by the experiment is not yet clear. Whatever else might be said of *Esquire*, it is never conformist and rarely dull. Very few others can make that claim.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES

Arrived: The first new metropolitan daily to be founded in Oklahoma in more than twenty-five years, *The Oklahoma Journal*. A standard-size photo-offset paper with a slightly circusy front page makeup, the *Journal* made its first appearance in Oklahoma City with a Saturday-Sunday edition dated August 15-16, 1964. The new morning paper, which started with 60,000 subscribers, is owned by a real estate development corporation, W. P. Bill Atkinson Enterprises, Inc. The *Journal* faces E. K. Gaylord's morning and Sunday *Oklahoman* and evening *Times*, which have a combined circulation of 298,000.

In its early issues, the *Journal's* front pages were dominated by wire copy rather than local stories. The paper makes use of UPI and the *Los Angeles Times-Washington Post* wires. The editorial staff numbered 35 to start.

On August 31, the *Journal* made striking, subdued use of color offset with a full page of photographs of ivory sculpture being exhibited in the city. A later front page used a bright picture of a little girl in a red dress that made the page look garish. But both pictures offered cleaner color reproduction than the usual letterpress effort.

The *Journal* has more than 4,000 stockholders, who have invested more than \$2,000,000 in Atkinson

Enterprises. Mr. Atkinson, a Democrat, was an unsuccessful candidate in Oklahoma's gubernatorial election. He announced in the first issue of the *Journal* that he would not again seek public office, and that he would bring his readers objective, factual, unslanted news.

Arrived: A capsule review of dozens of newsletters, the *Newsletter on Newsletters*. Published in Chicago by Enterprise Publications, the new monthly is a kind of trade organ for the newsletter business. It digests items contained in such newsletters as *The Gallagher Report*, Connecticut General's *Notes and Quotes*, and *Drive-in Management Market Newsletter*. The first issue also lists newly published newsletters, and those recently discontinued.

Arrived: A local weekly newspaper, aspiring to be "articulate, hard-hitting, breezy," called the *New York Express*, first issued October 5, 1964. Its high command: Roy Moriarity, formerly of the *New York Enquirer*; Igor Cassini, former society columnist; and Donald I. Rogers, former *Herald Tribune* financial columnist. The first issue, of 28 tabloid pages, contained twenty-six bylined columns, by rough count. The tone was gossipy; the writing, loose; the format, somewhere between the old *Mirror* and *Variety*; the information, minimal.

Transferred: Pittsburgh's WHC-TV, sold to Cox Broadcasting Corporation in September for \$20,500,000, the largest sum ever paid for a single television station in the United States. The station was formerly owned jointly by the H. Kenneth Brennen family and the P-G Publishing Co. (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and Sun-Telegraph* and the *Toledo Blade*). Cox Broadcasting is a new public-owned corporation that encompasses all the radio and television properties formerly owned by the newspaper publisher James M. Cox and his family.

Departed: Oregon's third largest daily newspaper, with a circulation of 53,670, the *Portland Reporter*, September 30. Striking employees of the morning *Oregonian* and the afternoon *Oregon Journal* started the tabloid on February 11, 1960. In February, 1964, the *Reporter* announced that it would have to close for lack of funds. The paper was saved by public contributions and \$50,000 in loans from businessmen. In April, a reorganization placed the paper in the hands of a triumvirate of two businessmen and a former federal official. But again the money ran out, and a page-one statement on September 28 said that there would be no resuscitation this time.



SURVEY

Television: the local picture

The Review continues its appraisal of individual television stations, as monitored by local reviewers. The period covered in the reviews below was August 17 through 23, 1964.

The unfilled gap

WJBK-TV, Detroit (CBS). Licensee: Storer Broadcasting Company.

Detroiters who wanted to know the details of what was going on in their city and the world in the week of August 17-23, would not have seen much more on WJBK-TV than they usually do.

The city was suffering through its sixth week without regular newspapers, for a strike had closed the morning *Free Press* and evening *News* July 13.

But Robert McBride, director of news and community affairs at WJBK-TV, said the station's experience during a strike two years ago had indicated viewers did not want any more than the usual news, from 6 to 7 p.m. and from 11 to 11:30 p.m.

Two years ago the station had presented an extra half hour of news at various times, only to be hit by a barrage of complaints. "We decided this time," McBride said, "that more news would not be a service to our viewers or to us."

The obvious question, of course, is one that has always plagued editors—do you give readers what they want or what they should have? McBride's answer was, "Give them what they want."

The only extra news programming for the week was a half-hour preview of the Democratic National Convention, featuring members of the Michigan delegation. The effort was laudable, but some of the interviews ran tediously long.

In the style of NBC's *Huntley-Brinkley Report* WJBK-TV started in September, 1963, to present the local news with the team of Joe Weaver and Jac Le Goff. Based on viewer reaction and the ratings, McBride said, the idea was very successful.

For about a year and a half, WJBK-TV has presented brief editorials daily, usually given by McBride. The topics during the week reviewed were misbehavior at athletic events, the automobile industry-UAW talks, unemployment problems, police brutality, and the first of several on election issues.

McBride said the editorials have become "increasingly more effective" in the last six months. He said especially pertinent topics have drawn phone calls for as long as two days after they were given.

HOWARD L. SEEMEN
Royal Oak Tribune

Playing it straight

KCMO-TV, Kansas City (CBS). Licensee: Meredith Broadcasting Company.

A workmanlike performance in news and public affairs continues at KCMO-TV. One of the early leaders in presenting comprehensive news coverage in Kansas City, the station has won numerous awards.

In addition to the regularly scheduled news programs, KCMO-TV also produces occasional documentaries on local or area subjects which are telecast in prime time. None was presented in the week reviewed.

On weekdays, the news is presented at noon, 6 p.m., 10 p.m., and midnight, between late movie offerings. The noon programs are eliminated on week ends.

The station has a staff of thirteen engaged exclusively in news. It has three "news cruisers," which are augmented by two remote units.

Unlike its competition on two other commercial stations in Kansas City, KCMO has not gone in for Huntley-Brinkley-style tandem news delivery. One man, Dean Humphrey, handles the two early telecasts and another, Ken Coy, does the two late programs.

Both on-camera men use filmed inserts for local developments handled by other news staff members. The news is presented in a straightforward, unbiased manner.

The 6 p.m. news is a 30-minute telecast following Walter Cronkite's *Evening News*. The local evening newscasters do not dwell at length on national or international stories in the 10-minute segment devoted to straight news. Sometimes national or international topics are not even given in capsule form. This practice makes it difficult for viewers who cannot get in front of a set until 6 p.m.

The half-hour concludes with a 5-minute editorial by KCMO's director of public affairs, Jim Monroe.

This segment generally is a recitation of facts concerning some local topic and usually avoids a definitive position, especially on anything that might be considered controversial. Perhaps a better definition of the segment would be "feature story."

ROBERT J. HOYLAND
Television editor
The Kansas City Star

Rough edges smoothed

KBOI-TV, Boise, Idaho (CBS, ABC). Licensee: Boise Valley Broadcasters, Inc.

Local news coverage at KBOI-TV has greatly increased in scope, depth, and comprehensiveness during the past year, with rough edges perceptibly disappearing weekly before viewers' eyes.

The station is served by both major wire services, in addition to its network affiliations. It also has a larger than average local staff, made possible by parallel radio coverage.

The news director, Dick Eardley, is an experienced newsman. His assistant, Rick Raphale, figured prominently in the breaking of a major story two years ago when a prisoner in the Ada County Jail confessed to him the killing of a woman and child. An airman from Mountain Home Air Force Base was being held for the crime.

The station does not slant news, but it has been known to take a definite editorial-style look at policies that it felt were not in the best public interest. However, editorializing is done in good taste and without concealment.

During the week of 'monitoring, a major range fire in northern Nevada, which had effects on the Boise region, was well covered from the first on-the-spot films taken by air. During this same period, local pre-primary news was adequately covered and woven into the broadcasts.

The other Boise television station requires viewers to make a choice for the main evening newscast at 10:30. This competition has helped KBOI-TV improve its quality. Both stations attempt to have photographer-reporters at the scene of all major happenings — both scheduled and emergency.

The station is maturing, recognizing that viewers are demanding more and better news coverage and that the television medium is past the gimmick stage.

BOB LORIMER
Boise Statesman

Public service experiment

WAGA-TV, Atlanta (CBS). Licensee: Storer Broadcasting Company.

Of Atlanta's three commercial stations, WAGA-TV is the only one offering editorial opinion as a regular feature of its nightly news broadcasts at 6 and 11 p.m.

This editorial segment, handled by the news director, Dale Clark, represents an outstanding public service in a major television market.

During the week of August 17-23, Clark called for law enforcement officers to redouble their efforts to track down the killers of three policemen in a crime that has gone unsolved for three months. He also called for a stepped-up campaign to end school dropouts.

The station operates its news department with a staff only half as large as that of the news leader in Atlanta, WSB-TV, the NBC affiliate. News, sports, and even weather reporters do commercials and lead-ins for commercials and tag-lines in which the viewer is reminded to use a particular product.

At the same time the WAGA-TV reports are concise and free of coloring or bias. The station uses little sound-on-film reporting, resorting to straight silent footage, backed with off-screen comments by the newsman reporting the story. Although the station publicized its purchase of a portable television camera, it is seldom used.

The station dropped the *CBS Evening News* with Walter Cronkite some eighteen months ago and despite protests by viewers has steadfastly refused to reinstate it. The station has access to filmed stories used on the Cronkite program but uses only a minimum of such material.

PAUL JONES
Television editor
The Atlanta Constitution

Four-city coverage

WOC-TV, Davenport, Iowa, (NBC). Licensee: Tri-City Broadcasting Company (Palmer Stations).

Since 1949, when WOC-TV, Davenport, became the first commercial television station in Iowa, news broadcasting has been an important part of its daily program schedule.

Of the three stations in the Davenport-Moline-East Moline-Rock Island area, WOC-TV uses the most locally originated newscasts. The station schedules

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87 minutes of news daily, Monday through Friday, compared with 50 to 60 minutes each for the other two channels.

Its Saturday-Sunday news total is 70 minutes, compared with 15 and 50 minutes for the other two Quad-City outlets.

In quality of coverage, WOC-TV has been a pace-setter for the area. The news director, Jack Thompson, heads a team of on-air newsmen composed of Charles Leonard, Jerry Jorgenson, and Max Lindberg. Thompson does the noon news, Jorgenson the 6 p.m. spot, and Leonard the 10 p.m. time.

Little local film is seen on the noon news. But by 6 p.m. WOC-TV splices together several hundred feet of local film to be shown on the 30-minute news-weather-sports-almanac show following the *Huntley-Brinkley Report*. Most of this is shown again on the 10 p.m. half-hour show.

The station channels all of its editorializing into a daily five-minute segment called *Comment*. It is broadcast at the end of the 10 p.m. news broadcast. Forcefully produced and edited by Bill Gress, *Comment* deals mostly with local issues in the Quad-City.

A few local specials, generally presented in non-network Sunday time, augment the newscasts. One of these, *Conversation*, is a regular 15-minute taped interview broadcast at noon on Sundays.

CHARLES H. SANDERS
Radio-TV editor
Rock Island Argus

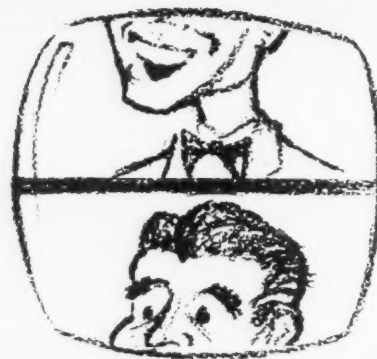
A Mississippi view

WLBT-TV, Jackson, (NBC, ABC). Licensee: Lamar Life Broadcasting Company.

Mississippi television viewers are given service in local and state news coverage far beyond the usual standards for a market this size (about 240,000 television homes). Seventy minutes daily are devoted to news, sports, and weather reports at WLBT-TV.

The news director, Dick Sanders, has a full-time staff of four persons, with part-time assistance from up to eight others. All of the four full-time men handle both still and movie cameras.

At 6 p.m., the *Huntley-Brinkley Report* is followed by Sanders and Hagan Thompson operating as a



team on local coverage, backstopped by other capable men. Political and racial news is prominent just now, with staff coverage far outweighing wire copy. Staff announcers deliver the commercials.

There is a provocative five-minute segment called *Comment*, which features a local or state newspaper personality, plus Sanders himself on one night each week. This segment is often subjected to "equal time" claims, many of which are honored.

Public service announcements are featured on a "bulletin board" program twice daily. Political, civic, religious, and sports remote pickups are included regularly.

A "Sunday Report" roundup is handled weekly by Sanders, with film clips used generously. Sanders is a native of Chicago, a graduate of the University of Missouri in journalism, with radio experience in New Orleans and Spartanburg. He has put in almost eleven years of increasingly effective leadership in news work at WLBT. The station's policy has been attacked by some liberals*, but Sanders' work has not been included in the criticism.

The week in review preceded the Democratic National Convention. Sanders sent back film for use with his recordings of credentials committee hearings on the Mississippi seating contest. He continued this service throughout the convention.

PURSER HEWITT
Radio-TV editor
Jackson Clarion-Ledger

*Complaints against WLBT have been filed with the Federal Communications Commission by the Mississippi AFL-CIO and the United Church of Christ, charging that it had discriminated against labor and Negro views. As of early October, 1964, the FCC had taken no action on the complaints.

THE EDITORS

Newspapermanship in Cleveland

By MURRAY SEEGER

On Wednesday, June 17, 1964, President Johnson made a quick trip to Cleveland to address the twenty-sixth convention of the Communications Workers of America. He was in Cleveland less than three hours.

That afternoon, the final edition of *The Cleveland Press* carried a page-one story telling how Mr. Johnson had telephoned from his jet, asking the editor, Louis B. Seltzer, to thank the people of Cleveland for their enthusiastic welcome.

The next morning, *The Plain Dealer* announced on its front page that the President had also telephoned its publisher and editor, Thomas V. H. Vail. This call, the *Plain Dealer* assured its readers, came from the Presidential helicopter as it hovered over the city. Mr. Johnson had invited Mr. Vail to visit him in Washington "soon."

That afternoon, June 18, the *Press* hit the streets with a new, expanded story about the telephone call. It was the sixth time, the *Press* noted, that Mr. Johnson had called Mr. Seltzer since becoming President.

This two-day example of journalistic one-upmanship is typical of the kind of competition Cleveland readers have been witnessing since the spring of 1963. One level of the competition is a bitter, old-fashioned battle between two rich newspapers seeking readers and advertisers. The other level is a personal conflict between Louis Seltzer and Tom Vail. In promoting their papers, the two editors have let themselves be jockeyed into positions that suggest anything but modesty.

There is no doubt about who holds the pre-eminent position of influence and power now. That is Mr. Seltzer. He takes a personal interest in almost every civic activity of importance, paying particular attention to the politics of his city and state. He has been editor of the *Press* since 1928 and editor-in-chief of

Murray Seeger, former editorial director of KYW and KYW-TV, Cleveland, recently joined the reporter-staff of The New York Times. His career includes experience on newspapers in Cleveland and Buffalo, and a year as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard.

the Scripps-Howard Newspapers in Ohio since 1937.

Tom Vail was only two years old when Mr. Seltzer became editor of the *Press*. Their backgrounds could hardly have been more different. Mr. Seltzer did not finish high school. Mr. Vail was born to wealthy parents who sent him to Deerfield Academy and Princeton University. His mother's family, the Whites, owned a sizable share of the Forest City Publishing Company, which used to operate both the afternoon *Cleveland News* (sold in 1960) and the morning-Sunday *Plain Dealer*. His great-grandfather, Liberty E. Holden, had founded the *Plain Dealer* as a weekly in 1842. His father, Herman L. Vail, had represented his wife's interests on the Forest City board since 1941.

Fresh from Princeton, Mr. Vail joined the *News* as a reporter in 1949. He became politics editor in 1953, then moved to the business side of the company in 1957. In 1961, he was elected vice president at the same time that his father was named president. The *Press* noted the change thus:

VAIL AND SON GET P.D. JOBS

The Cleveland newspaper strike of 1962-1963 was a turning point for both the *Press* and the *Plain Dealer*. Shortly after the strike ended, Wright Bryan was forced out as editor of the *Plain Dealer* and Mr. Vail became publisher and editor.

During the strike, Mr. Seltzer had spent a portion of almost every day in his tomb-like building studying and planning for the resumption of publication. He decided that the *Press* must change its formula to meet "the needs of today and tomorrow." As a result, the *Press* gained both depth and variety.

At the same time, the *Plain Dealer* became more promotional, more crusading, and more personal in its outlook. Tom Vail worked to make himself the kind of figure that politicians and civic leaders would seek out for advice and support.

The kind of jockeying that resulted was demonstrated during the week of June 8, 1964, when the United States Conference of Governors held its annual meeting in Cleveland.

On Monday morning, Mr. Vail had two signed articles in the *Plain Dealer*. A page-one story termed

Senator Goldwater a "cinch" for the Republican nomination. On page 16, Mr. Vail had a column about the governors. On page 17, a gossip column item pointed out that Mr. Vail would be joining the board of directors of the Cleveland Zoological Society. On page 12 appeared the following photograph:



On Monday afternoon, Mr. Seltzer had a column on page 4 discussing Republican vice-presidential nominees. In the second section, he had another column, about the "golden children," guests at a *Press* party for couples married fifty years or more. On page 8, readers learned that Mr. Seltzer, as president of the Convention and Visitors Bureau, had welcomed the governors with a speech. The story was accompanied by a photo.

In the same issue, he was pictured at the Golden Age Party and was mentioned in a story about that event and in a gossip column.

On Tuesday morning, Mr. Vail recounted his "short, private talk" with General Eisenhower in an editorial-page column. The meeting was also depicted on page 56:



The general's presence, incidentally, won a reference in the *Plain Dealer* for Mr. Seltzer, with whom the former President made a joint appearance.

On Tuesday afternoon, the *Press* gave full treat-

ment to the Eisenhower-Seltzer appearance. There was a page-one picture:



In the second section, the gossip columnist revealed that Mr. Seltzer was the "only outsider" who had attended a meeting of governors and U.S. senators who had been governors.

Mr. Vail did not appear in the Wednesday or Thursday editions.

But Mr. Seltzer on Wednesday wrote an "open letter" scolding President Johnson for not attending the conference.

On Thursday, Mr. Seltzer was referred to only on page 7 in a story announcing a *Press* dinner for high-school honor students.

Mr. Vail returned on Friday morning, in a page 8 story about the Zoo Board election, anticipated in the column of Monday morning.

Mr. Seltzer was absent from the pages of the *Press* on Friday and Saturday. His week's total was 80 inches written under his byline or about himself, four other references, and three photographs.

Mr. Vail's score was 60 inches, two references, and two photographs.

To sophisticated newspaper readers, Mr. Vail appears to be working to beat Mr. Seltzer at his own game. Mr. Seltzer has a big head start, but the younger editor is enlisting all his resources to catch up. One reporter generally rewrites Mr. Vail's column for publication; another does speeches. At the Governors' Conference, two promotion men were busy lining up introductions for him.

His speeches are covered fully by story and picture. A few months ago, for instance, Dr. Karl Menninger, the psychiatrist, spoke to more than 1,100 members and guests of the Cleveland Mental Health Association. At the same mid-day hour, Mr. Vail gave a speech to about 300 sales executives. The next morning's *Plain Dealer* carried almost twice as much type about Mr. Vail as about Dr. Menninger.

Mr. Seltzer avoids discussing the personal challenge aimed at the *Press* and its editor. When asked about it, he commented: "Some things have to be earned. I have never gone any place where I was not invited. Competition is good for everyone. The *Plain Dealer's* competition is good for the *Press*, but this other kind of competition is not good."

A most improbable publisher

MARSHALL FIELD III: A Biography by Stephen Becker. Simon and Schuster, New York. \$7.50.

The fondest dream of the working newsman a quarter of a century ago, as today, was that a fabulously rich, intelligent, courageous publisher would come to town and start a paper that would break lances for social justice, upset the stodgy conventions of journalism in the process, and sweep all before it.

Well, a little less than a quarter of a century ago, this wildly improbable publisher materialized, not in just one town but in the two biggest ones in the country. The dream did not come out quite as projected. But if for some of us it resembled a nightmare at times, we will own nonetheless that American journalism owes quite a bit to Marshall Field III. He made The Associated Press serve all who could pay for its services. He answered, probably once and for all, an age-old question which E. W. Scripps's earlier experiments had left moot: Can a metropolitan daily survive without advertising? (No.) He brought the people of our second city an alternative to the gnarled antediluvianism of Colonel McCormick's *Chicago Tribune*. And, in helping to redress journalism's chronic imbalance, he gave liberalism a lift it needed during the war and postwar years.

Measured against the expectations of those who hailed *PM* as the new journalism, or of those who prayed that Colonel McCormick would be routed from his Gothic tower and driven clean out of Chicagoland by the *Sun*, these very real accomplishments were anticlimactic. Field took no hand in *PM*'s turbulent affairs after buying out the other original investors a few months after it started. He simply wanted Ralph Ingersoll's idea of running an adless, crusading daily magazine in New York to have a fuller trial, and it got one for years after a lesser man would have pronounced the death sentence.

In Chicago it was different. Here his name, thanks to his grandfather's emporium, was literally a household word. The paper he established from scratch, complete from Service Bureau to stamp column, was orthodox in every respect save in its publisher's willingness to battle for brave new causes. Field took an active interest from the outset, but he almost invariably deferred to his top executives — first to Sil-

liman Evans, later to E. Z. Dimitman, neither of whom shared his social and political convictions. The child of their labors was baffling, a bright, schizoid Pollyanna who never knew quite where she was going.

By the time I joined the staff in 1944, Evans (who had begun by hiring former Hearst men) had returned unlamented to the *Nashville Tennessean*. Under Dimitman we had a pretty good foreign staff, an alert Washington bureau, and a city room that soon included the late Charles Levealle, incomparable on rewrite; Herman Kogan, who knew more Chicago lore than Ben Hecht; Charles Roberts, *Newsweek*'s current White House man, and other competent and devoted hands. Often and often we debated, over dinner in the local bistros, the riddle of the *Sun*: We could agree on what was wrong — morale had deteriorated to the point that anything the management tried was deemed prima-facie evidence of imbecility — but never on a solution. Some said Field, whom most of us never saw, should take over active direction. Others thought there were too many policy stories in the paper as it was — on transit (we did get Chicago its transit authority, finally), on public housing, on Roosevelt College, on the Back-of-the-Yards Council, on the Negro — and that putting the owner in charge would seal our doom.

The *Sun* was never so bad as we made it out to be; but we were exasperated that the paper could not make its way, let alone catch the *Tribune*. We were geared to break even somewhere between 350,000 and 400,000. I recall our jubilation when we went over 400,000 for one month in 1946, thanks largely to a local sex murderer. The paper might have gone on to make the grade but for John Knight's insistence on raising the rent for our use of his *Daily News* premises. Field thereupon bought the *Chicago Times*, moved the *Sun* to its plant, cut it down to a tabloid to fit the presses, and merged the two. With that our hopes of defeating the Colonel finally subsided.

Stephen Becker, a novelist, does Field justice in a biography that is discursive, compassionate, sometimes eloquent, and freighted with too much political disquisition. If it is an "authorized" biography, it is a great deal more honest about its hero than most. Becker does not hesitate to cite mistakes. He shows that Field was a diffident, profoundly earnest man who believed in the competitive system more intensely

BOOKS

than did most of those who regarded him as a pariah for his espousal of liberalism, Colonel McCormick and Captain Joseph Patterson included.

But his code, formed during his years at Eton, precluded total engagement. He was too absorbed in a dozen other worthy causes, from child welfare to the New York Philharmonic, to give day-to-day direction to his paper. Moreover, he thought himself incapable of doing so. It was best to trust the experts. Unfortunately, for all his insight and intellect, Field was not infallible in choosing experts, and far too gentlemanly about letting them know it once he saw his mistake.

Becker's book should serve as a corrective for those who pegged Field as an irresolute idealist who had a guilty conscience about his fortune, and squandered it. No one was more resolute in advancing causes that a highly developed social conscience told him



really mattered. Let it be noted that when he turned over the *Sun-Times* to his son, it was at last moving into the black, while Field Enterprises, the parent concern, was almost unconscionably profitable.

It was a crowning irony that, in January, 1952, not long after Marshall, Junior, became editor, the paper announced its support of Eisenhower for President. Field's letter to the editor later that year, vigorously upholding young Marshall's right to run the paper as he would and explaining his own decided preference for Stevenson, was characteristic of the gentleman whose epitaph might well be borrowed from *PM's* prospectus: He was against people who pushed other people around.

LOUIS M. STARR

Portrait without blemishes

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL: The First Eighty Years. By Will C. Conrad, Kathleen Wilson, and Dale Wilson. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison. \$5.

In 1882, when Milwaukee counted 130,000 inhabitants, one Lucius W. Nieman took over *The Daily Journal*, a political sheet printed on borrowed presses for 1,000 subscribers. Nieman had little money, a 10-by-10 cubbyhole for a newsroom, and a stubborn belief that the time had come for newspapers to sever political affiliations and to report the news honestly. He knew how to do it, and he did. Today Milwaukee has more than one million inhabitants and their main source of news is the Journal Company—its two daily newspapers, its two radio stations, its television station. The keystone of the enterprise, nearly 80 per cent employee-owned, is *The Milwaukee Journal*. It is one of the nation's best newspapers.

Nieman's ideas about honest reporting had been frustrated by one newspaper employer after another. When he set out with the 28-day-old *Daily Journal*, he had to buck two politically powerful dailies and three German papers. The 25-year-old editor got his chance within a few weeks. Milwaukee was shocked by a hotel fire that took eighty lives. To quote the authors: "Editor Nieman began at once to unfold the appalling story of neglect, falsehood, manipulation, and concealing of truth that had preceded the tragedy." Years later Nieman remarked: "Our handling of the Newhall fire made the *Journal* a newspaper." Solid news reporting and editorial independence eventually overcame all competitors.

The *Journal* of today is a monument not only to Nieman but to Harry J. Grant, who joined it as advertising manager in June, 1916. Grant's coming was eventually to bring employee ownership of the Journal company, and its expansion into radio and television, and pioneering in printing technology. Grant's drive, his business acumen, his sharing of Nieman's belief that a newspaper's staff must be free of all pressures, carried the *Journal* to new heights of prosperity and prestige. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, in a sprightly foreword, rightly describes the *Journal* as "a great local paper—but...not a provincial one." (Mr. Sulzberger, now publisher of *The New York Times*, spent a year's apprenticeship on the *Journal*.)

The story of the *Journal* is told in a 248-page book by three former *Journal* staffers. Will C. Conrad, who

The reviewers: Louis M. Starr edits this section. Scott M. Cutlip is a member of the journalism faculty at the University of Wisconsin.

retired in 1949 as chief editorial writer, devoted the better part of a decade to the research and writing of a voluminous first draft. His work was then taken over by Dale Wilson, a former Sunday editor, and his wife, Kathleen, also a former *Journal* writer. The authors rather narrowly focused on recording *The Milwaukee Journal's* editorial policy on issues of major importance to Wisconsin or the nation and on picturing "some of the men and women who helped guide the paper through the first eighty years." Despite their labor, the authors have failed to achieve even this limited objective in a manner satisfying to anyone who knows the *Journal*.

This book lacks the aggressive, in-depth reporting that has made its subject a powerful instrument for

public good in Wisconsin. Instead, the work has the blandness of a company-produced history, causing one to suspect that it went through too many sanitizing rewrites before publication. Lamentably lacking are full-blown, candid portraits, warts and all, of the key men in building the *Journal*: Nieman, Grant, Marvin Creager, J. Donald Ferguson, Irwin Maier, and Lindsay Hoben. Two chapters near the end of the book, one on the circulation department, one on the accolades received by the *Journal*, smack more of the promotion man than of the historian.

This work is a chronological recital of the *Journal's* editorial stands and journalistic triumphs. It is not the definitive history one of America's great newspapers deserves.

SCOTT M. CUTLIP

REPORT ON REPORTS

The Review here examines materials on journalism in pamphlets, articles, and other miscellaneous forms.

Still on trial

FREE PRESS—FAIR TRIAL: a report of the proceedings of a conference on prejudicial news reporting in criminal cases conducted by the Northwestern University School of Law and the Medill School of Journalism, May 3, 4, and 5, 1962. Edited by Fred E. Inbau.

"Responsibility of the Legal Profession," speech by Erwin Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School, at a meeting of the section on Judicial Administration of the American Bar Association, New York, August 11, 1964.

Journalism's coverage of judicial proceedings continues to be controversial. So entangled has this touchy subject become that the Northwestern University conference participants were unable to agree on even the most innocuous statement of principles for police, counsel, and news media with respect to crime news reporting. Although the conference was held two years ago, the ideas expressed are still current and the papers and proceedings serve as index to the feelings of all parties involved. Of special interest is Chicago Assistant State's Attorney James R. Thompson's "The Law Relating to Prejudicial Reporting in Criminal Cases."

Unlike the Northwestern University conferees, Dean Griswold believes that there is a solution to the problem and that it lies with the bar. He proposes

formulating a set of "ground rules" that would make it plain "both by appropriate amendments to the Canons of Ethics, and by rule of court—or by statute where that is necessary—that public statements, and public appearances, and release of evidence, with respect to a pending criminal case, both before trial and during trial are inappropriate." The dean contends that "if the lawyers and courts will thus put their house in order, there will be far less basis for complaint about the news media." The dean's solution, patterned on English practice, is an attractive one and is convincingly presented. But would the press and the bar accept such rules, even when backed by the contempt power? It is doubtful that such a solution would be successful in our highly competitive journalism; one has only to observe the number and character of the leaks from the Warren Commission transcripts.

Reading list

TELEVISION IN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS is a useful bibliography compiled by the Television Information Office, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York. It lists more than 300 items (including articles, government reports, and dissertations) that deal with the influence of television on election campaigns, Congressional policy, and the like.

DANIEL J. LEAB

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UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Wilmington papers: rebuttals and reply

"Case History: Wilmington's 'Independent' Newspapers," the article by Ben H. Bagdikian that appeared in the summer, 1964, issue, attracted more comment than any other feature in the Review's three years of publication. The article described relations between the editors of the Wilmington News and Journal and the papers' owners, a subsidiary of the Christiana Securities Company. It was read into the Congressional Record by Senator Clark of Pennsylvania. It won approving comment in several score letters from journalists across the country.

But the reactions in Wilmington were mixed. The Review prints here three letters, two from members of the staff of the newspapers, and one that was written to the staff of the News-Journal by Henry B. du Pont, president of Christiana. It is printed in the absence of any owners' reply addressed to the Review.

To the News and Editorial Staffs of the News-Journal Papers

The "Columbia Journalism Review," in its current issue, is publishing an article on the recent change in top editorial personnel at the News-Journal. I would have hoped that any comment from this source would have been a carefully-weighted examination of the situation presented with impartial detachment. The fact is, I regret to say, that the article is nothing more than a fabric of half truths, misstatements and prejudicial innuendoes, as you will readily recognize from the attached photocopy.

Such articles have the effect, if not the purpose, of placing competent and high-principled employees of the News-Journal papers in what may appear to be an uncomfortable position before their professional colleagues. This is as unjustified as it is unfortunate. Reckless disregard for truth and personal attacks upon officers and directors of your Company and its owners can be ignored. The implications with respect to News-Journal personnel, however, cannot be permitted to stand unchallenged.

The inference the reader is asked to draw is that, by the mere

act of formulating basic policies it wishes the paper to follow, the ownership of a newspaper imposes upon the paper's staff an intolerable indignity, incompatible with professional integrity. This, of course, is the sheerest nonsense. So is the further charge that this ownership insists on the suppression or distortion of disagreeable news. A newspaper's primary obligation is, of course, to print the news, agreeable or otherwise. The fact that ownership makes decisions in areas which are clearly ownership responsibility in no way reflects discredit upon newspaper personnel. The high status enjoyed by the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the Miami Herald, under divergent ownership philosophies, demonstrates clearly that no question of professional standard need be involved in ownership policies. The Columbia article reveals a childish petulance in reciting the out-of-context remarks of various directors and represents nothing more than an attempt to find trouble where no trouble exists.

The ownership of the News-Journal Co. is committed to no goal beyond the production of

newspapers of integrity and distinction, fulfilling in every sense their responsibilities to the community. The day-to-day operation of our newspapers represent the real test. We have every confidence in the abilities of the management and the staff to maintain the highest journalistic standards.

We take the greatest pride in the professional standing of our newspapers and in the high degree of excellence represented by personnel at all levels. I should like to thank you personally for your loyalty and devotion to the News-Journal and to assure you that your high ideals and abilities will continue to find growing opportunities for professional fulfillment and personal satisfaction.

Yours sincerely,
Henry B. du Pont
PRESIDENT

TO THE REVIEW:

Your sense of timing is exquisite. Hard on the heels of publishing an article—to say nothing of your own editorial comment—that is directed at discrediting me and everyone else at this company in the eyes of our professional colleagues, you send us invitations to subscribe to your magazine.

Until the article by Ben Bagdikian appeared, I had held the *Columbia Journalism Review* in considerable respect. That respect has now been lessened considerably if not dissipated entirely.

It is an editor's responsibility to check on both the accuracy and completeness of the story that is submitted to him. This, I submit, you failed to do in the case of Mr. Bagdikian. Worse, you have allowed his account to sway your own editorial judgment. The result is a disservice, not only to these newspapers and those who staff them, but to the entire profession of journalism.

Mr. Bagdikian's story purports to recount many instances of alleged

interference by ownership. Unfortunately, two things are missing in most of these cases—the time element and the final outcome. A very natural question to ask is, “What happened?” Why did not you, as editors, ask it? My personal knowledge of most of these incidents is slight; on those of which I do have personal knowledge, I know that Mr. Bagdikian’s story misrepresents or overstates the case.

The whole effect of the story (and I suspect its purpose) is to make Creed Black [vice president and executive editor who resigned in April] look the knight in shining armor put to rout by the evil forces of management. This is scarcely the case. Mr. Black was not the only professional newspaperman on the premises here, although it must be admitted that he was far and away the most active newspaper politician. He also had weaknesses, which should have been clearly apparent from the way he handled his resignation, that were painfully obvious to those who worked under him as well as to those who own the papers. Not the least of these was the inability to admit that anyone but Creed Black could be right.*

You have been exceedingly quick to find something “deficient or irresponsible,” but you have failed to note the underlying irresponsibility of the story you ran. Is this the hallmark of “a meeting ground for thoughtful discussion of journalism?”

You have been guilty of the very irresponsibility you seek to “deal forthrightly with” — whatever that may mean.

THOMAS R. DEW
Associate Editor
Evening Journal
Wilmington

*Mr. Black was named managing editor of the *Chicago Daily News* on Aug. 11, 1964.—THE EDITORS.

TO THE REVIEW:

If Ben H. Bagdikian had gone whaling in a rain barrel he would have come off better than he does in this article.

His attempt to blow up a *cause célèbre* out of the recent sacking of Creed Black was as futile as trying to popularize baldness. He ran

around the facts like a poodle circling a grizzly bear and his net product, a smokescreen, is as transparent as one of the peek-a-boo fashions from Paris.

In a propaganda school, his flap might rate a D-plus; but graded straight, as a “case history,” it not only doesn’t make a case, it doesn’t even make a point.

The whole piece, including his petulant sniping at the Du Ponts, could quickly be dismissed as a gnat-bite if it were not for the reflection it brushes on present News-Journal employees, myself included. This comes in his theme, parroting Black’s own outcry, that the executive editor got the old heave-ho because he was struggling to prevent the papers from becoming “house organs” for the Du Pont Company. The inescapable inference here is that the employees are, or would be, content to labor for “house organ” newspapers; and that, of course, cannot be allowed to sail by.

With the claptrap stripped away, the simple truth of Black’s severance was that he had a blind spot—he couldn’t recognize the owners. He thought they were part of the furniture until they started speaking. Then, apparently, he got the big idea that step No. 1 in making the papers “independent” (the quotes are Bagdikian’s) should be making them independent of owner control. What a whizzer that was!

Bagdikian could have learned this easily with a little legwork, but, in his eagerness to take a pot-shot at a successful private enterprise, he obviously confined his research to a dossier of pique supplied, directly or indirectly, by Black.

Actually, as every newspaperman knows, there’s not a paper in the United States or abroad, big or small, daily or weekly, that would have brooked such nonsense from Black. Owners, in varying degree, are tolerant of many employee deviations and peccadillos, but they lower the boom fast on any poaching on their front porch. In some rare instances, they might delegate control, with definite restrictions—but surrender it? Never!

If Black had put over his grand

coup, immobilizing the owners, it would have gone on Page 1 of the Book of Magic as a trick for the ages, something like plowing under a pyramid with a sandbox spoon, or scaling Mt. Everest feet first. But he didn’t have a chance and I, for one, could have told him so. On a smaller scale, I tried the same thing years ago on an elderly, whipsaw publisher in Indiana and was squelched pronto with this memorable ultimatum: “Son, if you don’t like the way we run things, go out and start your own newspaper.”

Black is a highly capable editor in many respects and it would be a pity if he were to allow his progress to be withered by an allergy to owners. Old hands in the newspaper game will extend him little sympathy in regards to his exit from Wilmington. Before taking his job here, he knew, or should have known, what the owner setup was. If he had any reservations about taking orders or suggestions from the owners, he should have said “I pass” and gone elsewhere. Nobody shanghaied him. The decision was his, he made and bound himself by it.

The News-Journal papers have their flaws and are subject to criticism, like all other newspapers. Although improvements are constantly being made, there are always others that can be achieved. The papers welcome constructive criticism as a needed burr under the saddle, as a guide to progress. But Bagdikian’s article falls in a different category.

I have been on the *Morning News* staff for more than 25 years and during this time have noticed no pressure to turn the papers into “house organs.” If the owners had wanted such a thing, they could have effected it long before Black arrived. Instead, being fully aware of the papers’ responsibility to the public, in the absence of competition here, they have leaned over backwards in their efforts to keep them on an independent keel. They have succeeded to a remarkable degree.

If Bagdikian makes a fair comparison of fairness, both in the handling of general and political news and in the treatment of people of all nationalities, colors and

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religions, and also in editorial comment, he will find that the papers here have a batting average equal to, or better than, those of 90 per cent of the American press. The coverage of Du Pont Company activities has been extensive, but no more than any other paper would give an industrial enterprise of such local and worldwide importance. Both the good news and the bad have been published without concealment or distortion.

The same thing has been true in regards to the Du Pont family. A check of the files will show Bagdikian or anyone else that divorces, lawsuits, squabbles and personal adventures—anything newsworthy developing in the family—have been reported openly and fully.

One swift indicator of the papers' independence, which might intrigue Bagdikian, is their hiring policy. The owners, if they wished, could pack the staffs with Republicans of their own conservative bent. Quite to the contrary, however, the staffs are lopsided with Democrats and liberals, many of whom are in key positions. For example, on the *Morning News*, the city editor, news editor, state editor, women's editor, society editor, and the copydesk slotman, along with the assistant city editors, assistant state editor and assistant slotman, are all Democrats.

Before joining the *Morning News*, I worked on the *Bloomington, Indiana, Weekly Star and Daily Telephone*, the old St. Paul

Daily News, the *Detroit Times* and the *Minneapolis Tribune*. I mention this only as evidence that the opinions and observations I have offered have not been colored by provincialism. Neither have they been influenced by any unusual affection for the owners. The only things I owe them are a good day's work and the normal loyalty of an employee—and these I give.

HERBERT H. SKIRVIN
Financial Editor
Morning News
Wilmington

MR. BAGDIKIAN REPLIES:

My article did not make innuendos. It reported specific instances in explicit language, usually quoting verbatim the suppression orders by the owners.

It included these items: H. B. du Pont, president of Christiana and chairman of the board of owners, ordering suppression of editorial comment on an important (Delaware) controversy which involved the paper professionally but which happened to be in conflict with a personal political project of his own family; similar orders concerning the University of Delaware; rejection of an editorial endorsing a Democrat and adaptation of a rewrite done outside the newspaper's office; a suppression order on the Shell Oil refinery and on an airport where Mr. Du Pont had a personal financial in-

terest; and a written complaint by a director of the paper to an editor saying that a news report of a political rally should have been redone in order to make it "useful to the Republican Party ... at the polls in November."

I have read the complaints from Wilmington, most of them making passionate appeals for recourse to the facts. Not one communication I have seen mentions the facts in the article.

No one whose communications I have seen denies that the above incidents occurred. They say that I did insufficient research. When I see a stop sign at an intersection I do not feel it necessary to inquire at the police station whether the sign means what it says.

But it happens that I did inquire of the owners of the Wilmington papers at to the facts and their interpretation of them. Mr. H. B. du Pont was away at the Bermuda races for weeks. Mr. Robert Carpenter, Jr., next owner most directly involved, was in Wilmington. I did speak to him, telling what I intended to write and offering to come to Wilmington to discuss it with him. He declined to comment. Later I asked the same of the president and editor, Charles Reese, though he was not directly involved in what I wrote, and he, too, declined to comment.

The only words I have seen from Wilmington have been denunciations of me, which are irrelevant, and the suggestion that my inferences from the facts are unsound. As to the latter, the facts remain in the article, documented and unrefuted. As for the inferences to be drawn from them, the readers can judge for themselves.

The anxiety quotient

From "Notes and Comment" on the editorial page of *The Sun, Baltimore*:
If readers have wondered at the anxiety level of this page, they need wonder no longer. This page is anxious because the people who compile it are anxious. It has nothing to do with East-West conflict or the decline of the silver dollar. It's pure personality.

An Illinois psychologist tells us—he went and told everybody—that newspaper editors and writers are the most anxious people in the country. They are "somewhat" (that seems to be a clinical term) more anxious than student flyers and underwater demolition experts. He also said anxiety is associated with a low standard of living. We knew the latter but not the former. If you do not want to read an anxious editorial page you have to read a newspaper put out by non-newspaper men. There are not many of those around. Some, though.

Bread-and-butter press

TO THE REVIEW:

Labor editors will be pleased with Morton A. Reichek's conclusion ["Labor Press: Limited Hopes," summer, 1964], that their papers show more journalistic professionalism. In this day of spreading standardization in the daily press, they will take as a compliment his admission that union publications are "heterogeneous and hard to generalize about."

Nevertheless, we must still wait for an evaluation of the labor press that does not assume that improvement lies in the direction of making it more like the commercial press. Certainly, in a physical sense, imitation is impossible. Union newspapers are mere pebbles—in number of pages and frequency of issues—compared with the massive, printed tree trunks some commercial newspaper publishers use to clobber their readers.

But even if imitation were possible many of us would question whether it would be desirable. The universe in which we labor editors discourse may be strange and even incomprehensible for one who is not a member of the union or a worker in the industry that we report. Yet it is precisely for those details that Mr. Reichek dubs "parochial" that the worker turns to his union publication. In a unique sense, he identifies it as "his" paper because in terms of machinery, shop procedures, plant status, and point of view, it is about the world in which he spends so much of his life.

An "outsider" may find columns about contract negotiations, walk-outs, arbitration, increases, welfare benefits difficult, dull, or repetitious. But the union member will peruse them with the same concentrated attention, the same disregard for layout evident in readers of the *Wall Street Journal* or the daily racing form.

Thus, while we cannot hope to compete with newspapers that put out more numbers and pages in a single fortnight than some of us do in a year, we do enjoy an advantage in reader motivation. It is one reason why some of the trained journalists, whose welcome influx into the labor press Mr. Reichek hails, have sometimes experienced initial difficulties.

Another source of difficulty is the need to acquire the special vocabulary of the particular industry and union with which the individual labor paper is concerned. Pending such mastery, the new labor paper editor or reporter cannot use the quickly communicative language of the oldtime editor who rose out of the factory. Mr. Reichek denigrates it as emotional and ranting language but in most cases it had a lower "fog level" than some of the more polished writing today.

He says that the labor press is a "kept press." At least I know who keeps me. It is the thousand delegates of close to half a million ladies' garment workers who, in convention assembled, lay down the policies by which I am guided. So kept, I aim for two results:

First, to report in their paper, all bread-and-butter union matters in lowest common-denominator language so that all may understand. Second, to devote a portion of its precious space to features on civil rights, automation, unemployment, international affairs, and other broad issues affecting the life of the worker, with the hope that the paper's special point of view will stimulate a critical attitude sufficient to deal with the "facts" the member gets in daily newspaper reading.

As far as layout and makeup are concerned, we seek constant improvement, wondering what most dailies would look like stripped of their syndicated columns and agencied ads through which the vaunted white space seeps onto their pages.

Twenty-five years ago I put together an issue of a local union "paper" in a Virginia town where 60 or so garment workers were preparing to strike the next day. I sought to sustain their quivering spirits by reviewing their union demands and comparing their idealism and courage to that displayed by the American colonists.

The "paper" had a purplish look, with edge-to-edge handwritten copy. It was dragged off a page at a time from a gelatinous device called a Hectograph, more often used to duplicate diner menus. I hope that at least once more in my life I can match it for reader impact.

LEON STEIN
Editor, *Justice*, ILGWU
President, International
Labor Press Association

No soap box needed

TO THE REVIEW:

Writing in your summer issue, John Hohenberg ["Public Service a 1964 Honor Roll"] seems to imply that a newspaper performs "public service" chiefly when the editor mounts a soap box. As a veteran soapboxer, may I suggest he has been taken in by squawk-box puffs. The prime public service of a newspaper is to refine and present in digestible form the significant events of its community, whether that is a neighborhood or the globe or both. The newspaper that fulfills this function accurately renders a public service regardless of where the editor itches.

The late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy undoubtedly thought he was performing a "public service" but it is questionable that he was a good reporter. Good reporters are the truly rare commodity.

WHITLEY AUSTIN
Editor
Salina, Kansas, *Journal*

the lower case

Segregated advertising

This ad appeared in the Michigan Education Journal for April 1, 1964:

"We're going to the World's Fair by Greyhound!"

Here's why!



"They make it so easy for me!"

Greyhound is people. Friendly, easy going, fun loving people who enjoy the convenience and luxury of traveling a lot, without spending all they've got. When you travel by Greyhound, you'll find the pleasure of making new friends and seeing new faces as often as you see waiting places. Greyhound is the friendliest of all the travel agencies.



"I like to save money!"

And you'll see the countryside clear as day when you travel by Greyhound. And here's something else you should know, wherever you decide to go, Greyhound cuts out the extra, needless expense of driving yourself.



"I want to forget about traffic and parking!"

Escape the air conditioning and convenience of the fully equipped Greyhound Super Service bus. Come on ahead. Leave the driving to us.



"I want to see everything there is to see!"

Greyhound is service. More service in New York and the World's Fair than anywhere else in the U.S.A. than any other travel agency. Greyhound has the most complete schedule of the most complete schedule.



"I know they'll get me a nice hotel!"

Greyhound has more than 100 hotels to choose from. In the place of choice, Greyhound has the finest hotels in New York and the World's Fair. Greyhound is people. Friendly, easy going, fun loving people who enjoy the convenience and luxury of traveling a lot, without spending all they've got. When you travel by Greyhound, you'll find the pleasure of making new friends and seeing new faces as often as you see waiting places. Greyhound is the friendliest of all the travel agencies.

There's a Greyhound New York and World's Fair plan to fit your time and budget!

YOUR OWN CIRCLE TRIP. Make your own circle trip. Visit New York, the World's Fair, and other cities. Greyhound has the lowest fares for all travel parties in the area and around the Fair grounds. So, starting from home to New York and the Fair, be sure to let Greyhound take you there. There's much more to see and much more to do when you travel by Greyhound.

EXCITED TOURS. Make your own circle trip. Visit New York, the World's Fair, and other cities. Greyhound has the lowest fares for all travel parties in the area and around the Fair grounds. So, starting from home to New York and the Fair, be sure to let Greyhound take you there. There's much more to see and much more to do when you travel by Greyhound.

It also appeared in the Alabama School Journal, but apparently the fourth passenger was moved to the back of the bus:

"We're going to the World's Fair by Greyhound!"

Here's why!



"They make it so easy for me!"

Greyhound is people. Friendly, easy going, fun loving people who enjoy the convenience and luxury of traveling a lot, without spending all they've got. When you travel by Greyhound, you'll find the pleasure of making new friends and seeing new faces as often as you see waiting places. Greyhound is the friendliest of all the travel agencies.



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Double threat

UPI moved the following on August 3, 1964:

WASHINGTON, AUG. 3 (UPI)--PRESIDENT JOHNSON SAID TODAY HE HAS ORDERED THE NAVY TO DOUBLE ITS DESTROYER FORCE OFF NORTH VIET NAM AND TO PROVIDE THE VESSELS WITH SUFFICIENT AIR COVER TO DESTROY ANY ATTACKING FORCE.

HE SAID A DESTROYER WOULD BE ADDED TO THE ONE ALREADY ON PATROL, THUS DOUBLING THE FORCE.

Don't mention it

Whose face was reddest? The copy reader who failed to delete the parenthetical comment, the reporter who couldn't spell, or the managers whose policies were put in an embarrassing light? The clipping is from the next-to-last paragraph of a story printed in the Sacramento Union on June 18, 1964:

Mrs. Brantner, whose Indian name means "The Bride of the God of Big Lagoon," will bring with her authentic Indian costumes, some weighing over 30 pounds, for display in a store window. (Rhodes but their not advertisers.) There will also be Indian paintings on display.

Short count

What's a synonym for visiting civil-rights workers? A headline writer at Mississippi's Jackson Clarion-Ledger offered this answer on July 31, 1964:

Invaders Tell Story To Students

UNIVERSITY — A male and a female COFO worker from

The News bites

Here is the lead of a story (which also supplied the page-one banner) in the New York Daily News for October 5:

In the view of hundreds of persons who stood by, a 28-year-old man was repeatedly stabbed yesterday afternoon by a burly Negro who had tried to force his attentions on the victim's attractive red-haired wife in Times Square.

At no point was the story attributed to either the police or the victim or his wife; the News offered it as pure fact. Came the dawn of October 6, and it was a new story:

Mrs. Sandra Zano, 24, an attractive redhead, was charged last night with obstructing justice by telling cops that a burly Negro masher had stabbed her husband in Times Square Sunday afternoon. Before being booked, she admitted that the assailant was an ex-boy friend but refused to identify him, police.

he hospital that she gave at the reported.

Echo from Oklahoma

Gene Cervi of Denver may be flattered to see how closely the new Guffey's Journal of Oklahoma City has imitated the format, typography, and content of his Cervi's Journal:



New beauty column?

Look again, and you may see that this article in editorial body type is labeled "Advt." It is from TV Guide for September 26-October 2:

in Memphis, where she was scolded in a newspaper editorial and by the pastor of the First Baptist Church, who chose Stella as the subject of his Sunday sermon. The picture was also a factor in a cloak-and-dagger melodrama involving custody of her son, Andy. When she went to Hollywood, she left him in Memphis. Later, Stella decided that she wanted him with her. After legal attempts to get him failed, she flew to Memphis in disguise and kidnapped him. Then, her ex-husband flew to Hollywood and kidnapped him back. Eventually, Stella did win custody. Andy, now 9, won the Headmaster's Award as the outstanding student in the 4th grade at Black-Fore military school.

With him and a housekeeper, Stella lives in an unpretentious home near Beverly Hills ("I've painted the house five times. Now it's time to move. I can't do anything more here"). She spends much of her time

alone ("I was alone as a child, and I still like to be alone. I've never been one of a group of any kind. I've never belonged to things. Even as a child, I never felt any need to belong"). She sits up at night watching old movies on the late show ("They had a magic"). She has written lyrics for songs, one of which has been published, and she takes singing lessons ("Blues things are easiest for me"). She studies Eastern religions ("They teach love, not fear"), but she takes her son to Mass every Sunday. And, although she would like to marry again some day, she admits, "Actors and actresses have to be selfish. I don't know whether I have enough love to give someone else."

Meanwhile, above all else, there is the Career and the chance to become a Big Star. Stella Stevens once said, "I believe in concentrating all my energies on my work. It's the closest emotional feeling to love I know—so far."

Advt.

Do Face Creams Really Work?

BY HELEN F. PORTER



A good part of my time as a beauty consultant has been spent studying all kinds of face creams. I've found, as I'm sure many of you have, that while most did some good, none really satisfied me.

But recently I've been using a face cream that I think is just what women have been hoping for. It's light and greasyless, and its skin-softening emollient formula includes polysebacate. This is important, because our skin's

supply of moisture-retaining natural oils—skin-softening polyunsaturates and emollients—drains away slowly as we get older.

But this cream puts a helpful supply of oils and emollients, including polyunsaturates, right on your skin. Yet it smooths in almost instantly, and never leaves a greasy film.

This product, which is made here at Prince Matchabelli, is called Polyderm Compensating Cream. I wish you'd try it, because I'm sure you'll find, as I did, that with daily use Polyderm moisturizes your skin—gives you a softer, smoother, younger looking complexion. So you can see what Polyderm's emollient polyunsaturate formula will do for your skin, I've arranged to have a sample made available. To get one, just send 25¢, your name and address, to me, Helen F. Porter, at Prince Matchabelli, Box 259, Mt. Vernon, N.Y. Polyderm is available at better stores everywhere for \$2 to \$7.50, plus tax.

Canned controversy

Motion picture exhibitors received this promotion idea last summer in the Paramount Press Book. How many newspapers fell for it? Who knows? Noting the instructions that the letters "should be planted in the proper order," Variety (June 17) commented, "In other words, some editors are bright enough to suspect something phony if the rebuttal letter is planted ahead of the protest letter."

"Lady In A Cage" is, by its very nature, a controversial motion picture and every effort should be made to capitalize on this controversy.

An easy and effective method of doing so is to use your local "letters to the editor" column to focus attention on our film. The suggested letters which follow should be planted in the proper order well in advance of your playdate and, when done, will surely result in heated discussion within your community.

Remember, controversy can be one of your most effective aids in calling attention to this unusual film. The space you get is space that you couldn't buy if you tried and is worth many dollars more than your normal advertising expenditure—AT NO COST. Take advantage of this opportunity.

PROTEST LETTER

(suggested format)

Dear Mr. Editor,

I think we must all admit that the world we live in is full of crime, violence and degradation. This being so, why must we be constantly served with more of the same when we can avoid it?

I want to protest in no uncertain terms the making and showing of motion pictures such as that which I was exposed to under the guise of entertainment. My husband and I attended a New York theatre while visiting the World's Fair which advertised a new major studio release. We went in expecting to be entertained and found ourselves exposed to a picture called, "Lady In A Cage". To say that it was brutal, sick, immoral, perverse and full of sexy filth is putting it mildly. I simply can't understand why an actress as great as Olivia De Havilland would allow herself to make such a disgusting film but I, for one, don't want to see another like it.

It's no wonder that crime, adultery and everything else results from our young people seeing this garbage. Let's put an end to pictures as sick as this one.

Sincerely,

Mrs.

REBUTTAL LETTER

(suggested format)

Dear Sir,

You printed a letter from a Mrs. the other day, complaining about a movie she saw. Well I too saw "Lady In A Cage" and I have to applaud the efforts of Olivia De Havilland and those who were responsible for this film. If it's true that this picture is filthy, brutal and sick, it's because it holds a mirror up to society, and if it reflects some aspects of life today or some people in it, then we must recognize it as portraying some truths about us today—OR DOESN'T MRS. READ THE DAILY NEWSPAPERS!

Furthermore, the first step in finding solutions to our problems is accepting the fact that they exist, so let's stop sticking our heads in the sand. Those that don't want to face the truth about some things today can watch the dull pap that emanates from their television sets; indeed, they can continue to fall asleep in front of them each night. But those that are not afraid of being shocked can only commend the makers of "Lady In A Cage" for its honesty. Shocking—yes, wrong—no.

Sincerely yours,

Mr.